

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

OVID

FASTI

BOOK III

EDITED BY S. J. HEYWORTH



# CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

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BOOK 3

EDITED BY

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*In memory of James Morwood*  
*Classicist, Teacher, Friend*





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## PREFACE

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One of many debts I owe to the Latin Literature seminar of my years as a graduate student in Cambridge (1980–3) is a love of Ovid's *Fasti*: one term I had the pleasure and the education of reading book 2 with John Henderson, Stephen Hinds, Stephen Oakley, Neil Wright and others. When I became Tutor at Wadham in 1988 the recently reformed syllabus had book 3 as one of the texts set for those studying Ovid: it made a particularly fine pair with *Metamorphoses* 1, each of them beginning with a narrative sequence of untypical length before the poem was complicated by the intrusion of less epic material. Reading classes with students gave me a sense that there was much to say; and enjoyable exchanges with Stephen Hinds, especially when we met at State College, Pennsylvania in March 1990, revealed that he was already well advanced in writing up a great deal of this, especially on genre and politics (Hinds 1992). Rather than an article I therefore conceived of producing a commentary, a project to follow the major work on the text of Propertius to which I was committed. And here it is, at last.

Along the way, I have accumulated many further debts of gratitude. I first thank the many Wadham students (and a few from other colleges) with whom I read *Fasti* 3 between 1988 and 1997; then those members of the Oxford Sub-Faculty who came to a presentation of work on 3.393–458 on 5 February 2009 (especially Rebecca Armstrong, Bob Cowan, Francesca Martelli, Ruth Parkes), and to a reading class on the whole book in Trinity Term 2013 (especially Stephen Harrison, Gregory Hutchinson, Matthew Leigh, Llewelyn Morgan, Matthew Robinson, Andrew Sillett, Barnaby Taylor: \* marks previously unpublished suggestions). Appreciative audiences gave thoughtful and stimulating responses to talks based on sections of the commentary at the following universities and colleges: Leiden, Pennsylvania, Florida State, Dickinson, Rome 'Tor Vergata', Edinburgh, Columbia, Virginia. Others provided venues for trying out material that turned into sections of the introduction, or responded in important ways to what I said: Fiacha Mac Góráin and others at the conference on 'Dionysus in Rome' at UCL, September 2015; Maud Pfaff and others at the bimillennial conference on Ovid at the Sorbonne, March 2017, Luis Rivero García and his team of organizers for the bimillennial conference in Huelva, October 2017; Krešimir Vuković, Ian Goh and others at the conference 'Natales grate numeras', University of Zadar, April 2017; Stavros Frangoulidis and others for the Thessaloniki conference on Intratextuality, May 2017.

My greatest debt is to the Series editors: Ted Kenney rejected an initial informal approach on the grounds that the *Fasti* was not a much read text

and Elaine Fantham, already signed up to do book 4, was likely to produce her commentary rather sooner (as she did: 1998). Ted was, however, one of the receptive readers when a worked-up proposal was submitted in 2009, along with Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley, who have read every section of the book with all the care and intelligence that their reputations as scholars and editors would lead one to hope for. Their mix of patience, encouragement, and perceptiveness has been exemplary and sustaining.

Others who have made specific suggestions or read portions of the work include Sergio Casali, Thomas Coward, Joe Farrell, Tristan Franklins, Barrie Hall, Harriet Heyworth, James Ker, Peter Knox, Joy Littlewood, Ray Ockenden, Ruth Parkes, Emma Searle, Gail Trimble, Christina Tsaknaki, Krešimir Vuković. Special thanks are owed to Matthew Robinson, not least for his help with matters astronomical. John Miller, whose long engagement with the poem has made him a particularly valued reader and friend, got in touch soon after I began, with the news that he too was planning a commentary on *Fasti* 3; but when he discovered that I was ahead of him, he graciously changed direction and started work on book 5 instead. I look forward with excitement to that third member of the green-and-yellow *Fasti* family.

This commentary was begun in earnest at the British School, where I had the privilege and pleasure of holding the Hugh Last Fellowship from April to July 2009: I am deeply grateful for the support that enabled me to explore Rome's topography, and for the inspiration and help provided by many of the other residents, especially Robert Coates-Stephens and the students on the City of Rome course, the then Director Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Frank Sear, Marden Nichols, Katherine van Schaik.

Finally, I dedicate this book to the memory of my Wadham colleague James Morwood, from whom and with whom I learnt much about the art of writing commentaries. James died on 10 September 2017, just after I had finished my text by drafting the introduction: he had read Section 6, and made valuable suggestions on metre in particular. Unlike the Oxford commentaries on Propertius 3 and *Aeneid* 3, James was never part of the authorial team for this book, but he read much and encouraged more. Like many others I shall miss his critical eye, as well as his friendship.

PS. Warm thanks are owed to Jane Burkowski, Glenn Lacki, and Michael Malone-Lee for patient checking of references, and to Malcolm Todd for his thoughtful copy-editing.

# INTRODUCTION

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## 1. OVID'S LIFE AND CAREER

Arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam  
edere, materia conueniente modis.  
par erat inferior uersus – risisse Cupido  
dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.

(Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.1–4)

Arms and violent wars in a weighty metre I was preparing to utter, the content suiting the metre. The lower verse was equal [in length] – Cupid is said to have laughed and stolen away a single foot.

Ovid starts his poetic career with the *Amores*, but begins as if it were an epic, telling of arms and war. His first word is identical to Virgil's in the *Aeneid* (1.1 *Arma uirumque cano*). Immediately Cupid intervenes, steals a foot, and turns the continuous hexameters into elegiac couplets. That is the metre fitted for love, the central topic of the elegists Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius; and when Ovid complains that he is not a lover, Cupid takes an arrow and shoots him, so he will have material to write about in elegy. The collection will in fact contain *arma*, but in the metaphor of the *militia amoris*, the soldiery of love, in which the poet is a captive of Cupid (1.2) or has to plot strategy like a general (2.12): the equation is explored at amusing length in 1.9, which begins *Militat omnis amans* ('Every lover is a soldier'). Alongside the self-conscious play with earlier texts and generic appropriateness, we should notice Cupid's laughter: humour is characteristic of the Ovidian style, and he shows his first reader responding aptly to his work (not least perhaps to his parody of Virgil's grand opening).

Publius Ovidius Naso was born in central Italy, at Sulmo (now Sulmona, in Abruzzo), on 20th March 43 BC, as he informs posterity at the start of his poetic biography (*Tristia* 4.10.3–14: 813 n.). Later in the poem he tells us that he started writing poetry in his mid teens: 'when I first read my youthful poems in public, my beard had been cut twice or once' (57–8). His career was both productive and long: the latest datable references in his poetry are to events of AD 16 (*Ex Ponto* 4.9.3–4 hopes that the poem arrives in Rome on the day when P. Pomponius Graecinus takes up his suffect consulship, presumably on 1st July 16); Jerome gives AD 17 as the date of his death, and the bimillennium was marked by many conferences in 2017.

The *Amores* go on to present the poet as a lover in the elegiac mode, repeatedly separated from his mistress and distrustful of her, but unfaithful himself. The collection extends the norms of the genre by exploring more

deeply such topics as violent anger (1.7) and slavery (2.2–3, 2.7–8), and introducing others such as loss of hair (1.14), abortion (2.13–14), impotence (3.7) – the realities behind the romance. At times, however, the dominant tone is rhetorical whimsy (the attempt to delay Aurora/dawn in 1.13, the variety of appealing *puellae* in 2.4) or fantasy (the Elysium for dead birds at 2.6.49–58, Ovid wishing he were the ring given to his mistress in 2.15).

According to a prefatory epigram the version we have is a second edition, in which five books have been reduced to three: this explains how he can in 2.18 review his career beyond the *Amores*, including his move into the grander territory of tragedy, followed by a return to erotic material, in the form of the *Ars Amatoria*, a didactic poem, guiding young men (1–2) and women (3) in how to be successful lovers, and the *Heroides*, letters written to the men whom they love by women of myth<sup>1</sup> and the poetess Sappho. The poet's placing of 2.18 helps the reader to see that it is a new poem composed for the second edition, for in book 3 the ascent to tragedy is still to come.<sup>2</sup> *Amores* 3.1 tells how when the poet was walking in a grove, considering his next work, he was visited by two nymphs, Elegia and Tragoedia, each of whom tried to persuade him to work in her genre. At the end he promises Tragoedia that her turn will come once he has finished writing the *Amores*, and the plan is revisited in 3.15, the final poem of the book, where he says farewell to Venus, Cupid, and elegy. Conversation with deities will play a large part in the *Fasti*, and in other ways too *Amores* 3 looks ahead: the move away from love elegy is symbolized by poems talking of estrangement from the mistress (3.3–8, 10–11a), by the revelation that Ovid has a wife (3.13), and by the lament for the death of the elegist Tibullus (3.9). A number of poems discuss or narrate myths (3.6, 3.10, 3.12) and thus prepare for the importance of myth in the *Heroides*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Fasti*. Three pieces involve religious occasions:<sup>3</sup> 3.2 is set at chariot races in the Circus, and within Ovid's speech to the pretty girl sitting next to him is a description of the procession of the gods (43–62); 3.13 describes the festival of Juno in his wife's home town, Falerii; 3.10 is an attack on the goddess Ceres for requiring sexual abstinence during her festival, despite her own susceptibility to love in the case of the Cretan Iasius, ending with this couplet (47–8), which typifies some of the celebrations Ovid will enjoy describing in the *Fasti* (notably Anna Perenna at 3.523–42):

<sup>1</sup> Including Dido in 7 (cf. *Fasti* 3.545–50) and Ariadne in 10 (cf. *Fasti* 3.459–516).

<sup>2</sup> On the sequence, see e.g. Hollis 1977: xi–xiii, 150–1, followed by Harrison in Hardie 2002: 80–1, in a clear-headed account of the 'evolutions of an elegist' (79–94).

<sup>3</sup> On 'Sacra in the *Amores*', see Miller 1991: 44–57.

festas dies Veneremque uocat cantusque merumque;  
haec decet ad dominos munera ferre deos.

A festival day calls for love and song and alcohol: these are the gifts  
it is right to offer to the gods, our masters.

Festivals and temples also play a part in the *Ars Amatoria*: they provide opportunities to meet the opposite sex (1.67–262), as Romulus taught the Romans when the rape of the Sabine women was planned for the games (1.101–34). As an aetiology for life in Rome that story looks ahead to the *Fasti*, and in particular it provides the narrative that is omitted at 3.199–200. A Greek aetion comes at *Ars* 1.525–64, explaining why Bacchus provides assistance to the lover – he is himself the lover of Ariadne, a story revisited at *Fasti* 3.459–516.

The urge to work in a grander, more expansive genre continues to affect Ovid's development (especially in the form of the *Metamorphoses*); but there is continuity too, as is shown by the conversation with Venus at the start of *Fasti* 4 (1–12):<sup>4</sup>

Alma, faue, dixi, geminorum mater Amorum;  
ad uatem uultus rettulit illa suos;  
quid tibi, ait, mecum? certe maiora canebas.  
num uetus in molli pectore uulnus habes?  
scis, dea, respondi, de uulnere. risit, et aether  
protinus ex illa parte serenus erat.<sup>5</sup>  
saucius an sanus numquid tua signa reliqui?  
tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus.  
qua decuit primis sine crimine lusimus annis;  
nunc teritur nostris area maior equis.  
tempora cum causis, annalibus eruta priscis,  
lapsaque sub terras ortaue signa cano.

'Nurturing mother of the twin Loves, give me your favour', I said. She directed her gaze to the poet. 'What', she said, 'do you want with me? You were certainly singing of grander things. Surely you don't still have the old wound in your soft heart?' 'Goddess,' I replied, 'you know about wounding.' She laughed, and the heavens immediately became clear in that direction. 'Wounded or whole, have I abandoned your standards at all? You have always been my programme, always my achievement. As was fitting in my early

<sup>4</sup> Miller 2013: 246–7 and Chiu 2016: 149–54 also set this passage against the background of Ovid's career.

<sup>5</sup> This line implies composition at a time when one part of the pantheon had become angry with the poet, i.e. in exile.

years I played without charge; now a grander area is trodden by my horses. I sing times, together with explanations, dug out of the ancient annals, and the setting and rising of constellations.’

This clearly recalls *Amores* 1.1, where a god of love laughed and Ovid was wounded, and 3.15, where he said farewell to Venus and headed (18) to an *area maior* (in *Fasti* 4.10 the phrase refers to the *Fasti* itself, not tragedy). Verses 7–8 seem to mean that love has been Ovid’s topic whether he was writing as a lover himself (*saucius*) or about the affairs of others, as in the *Heroides*: here, and in the *Ars Amatoria* Venus was his announced topic (*propositum*). Elsewhere he is not writing directly under her influence, but she is still at the heart of the work (*opus*); thus many of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* have erotic aspects, and even the *Medea*, Ovid’s renowned<sup>6</sup> but lost tragedy, dealt with a story of love turned bad.

At some point in mid career Ovid turned to composition on a larger scale, an epic longer than the *Aeneid*, and a didactic poem on the calendar that would fully have matched the scale of Virgil’s poem, as well as its representation of Rome through aetiology. There is no prior promise of the *Metamorphoses* or the *Fasti*, but the poet indicates that they were being composed together through what he says about them in *Tristia* 1 and 2 (see Section 2). The *Tristia* was the first work written by Ovid after Augustus suddenly despatched him into exile in AD 8 or 9, to Tomi on the Black Sea.<sup>7</sup> Ovid’s own works are our only source for information on the exile. He tells us that a *carmen* and an *error* were the causes (*Tristia* 2.207): the poem is the *Ars Amatoria*, presumably because as a didactic poem it was felt to encourage marital infidelity, a matter of concern to Augustus from the 20s on,<sup>8</sup> and an increasingly touchy subject as he sent into exile for adultery first his daughter Julia (in 2 BC) and then her daughter, also Julia, in AD 8. The *error* involved Ovid’s chancing to see something wicked (*Tristia* 2.103–6: see Ingleheart *ad loc.*), and failing to report it (so *Tristia* 3.6.11–16 implies).

Some have held that the *error* was the real cause, and the *Ars* was simply a cover; but the poem had been published years before. Rather, then, the immoral teaching of the poem created an attitude towards the author

<sup>6</sup> See Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 10.1.98, Tacitus, *Dial.* 12. The two extant fragments come from quotations in the Elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3.7) and Quintilian (8.5.6).

<sup>7</sup> In legal terms he was ‘relegated’, not ‘exiled’, as he did not lose citizen rights. Tomi is now Constanța in Romania. Hutchinson 2017: 80–2 presents a case for dating the exile to 9 rather than 8, the canonical date. I ignore in what follows the fascinating theory that exile in Tomi was Ovid’s own invention: see most recently Bérchez Castaño 2015.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Nisbet & Rudd 2004: 98–100, Galinsky 1996: 96–7, 128–38. A recently published inscription (Eck 2016) has shown that Augustus was struggling to get more stringent marital legislation passed from AD 5 to 9: see Hutchinson 2017 for how this might matter for Ovid’s exile.



that meant he could not be forgiven when he was found to have known of an illicit act but not to have acted properly – as an informer. Despite living on for eight years or more, and despite the death of Augustus, he was never recalled. But he continued to write, producing in the exile poetry a description of life on the edge of the empire, threatened by icy winters and barbarian incursions; direct pleas for leniency combined with indirect assertions of independence; letters to friends, thanking them for assistance and communication; and curses on enemies (notably the *Ibis*) and those who had forgotten him. He also continued with other projects, a revised version of the *Fasti*, i.e. the one that survives, and the double epistles, *Heroides* 16–21: a marvellously impudent creation in the circumstances, as they begin with an exchange of letters between Paris and Helen, the most famous pair of adulterers in classical myth.<sup>9</sup>

To sum up, here is a list of the major works in approximate chronological order (all in elegiac couplets except *Medea* and *Metamorphoses*):

- Amores* (5 books reduced to 3 after the first edition of the *Ars*)
- Medea* (only tiny fragments survive; tragedy: iambs and anapaests)
- Epistulae Heroidum* (1–15; probably 3 books)
- Ars Amatoria* (2 books, later expanded to 3)
- Remedia amoris* (1 book)
- Metamorphoses* (15 books; dactylic hexameter)<sup>10</sup>
- [*Fasti* (12 books drafted, but apparently not published)]
- Tristia* (5 books)
- Ibis* (1 book)
- Epistulae ex Ponto* (4 books)<sup>11</sup>
- Fasti* (1–6 revised and published)
- Epistulae Heroidum* (3 pairs: 16–21)

## 2. FASTI AND METAMORPHOSES

Ovid first mentions the *Metamorphoses* at the end of *Tristia* 1.1.<sup>12</sup> He instructs the book on what to do when it reaches Rome, ending with arrival in the library of his own home (105–22), where it will see its brothers, among

<sup>9</sup> On the date of *Ep.* 16–21 (probably published posthumously, given the incendiary subject matter), see Heyworth 2015: 143–8, with references to earlier discussions.

<sup>10</sup> The bulk of the *Metamorphoses* was written before Ovid's relegation in AD 8/9, but the poem was apparently revised slightly before publication, which occurs between the order to go to Tomi and the publication of *Tristia* 1, perhaps as he leaves Rome: see e.g. Kovacs 1987: 462–5.

<sup>11</sup> Augustus dies and Tiberius becomes emperor in AD 14, during the composition of *Ex Ponto* 4.

<sup>12</sup> See Heyworth 2018a: 110–14 for a longer examination of themes discussed in this section.

them the three books of the *Ars Amatoria*, skulking away in a dark corner, but also the fifteen rolls of the *Metamorphoses* (117–18):

sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae,  
nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis.

There are also fifteen volumes of the *Metamorphoses*, poetry recently snatched from my funeral procession.

The poet instructs his book to tell the *Metamorphoses* to add the change in Ovid's own fortunes to their tales, an intention fulfilled in poem 7. Here he tells anyone who has a bust of him to remove the garland from his head (*temporibus*<sup>13</sup> *non est apta corona meis*, 1.7.4), and to read his poems, especially the *Metamorphoses*, instead. This poem he tried to burn, but there were several other copies, and now he prays that it survives, gives pleasure to readers, and reminds them of him. He thus tells his reader that the poem circulating in Rome is authorized by the poet. Work on the *Fasti* was also interrupted by the bolt from the blue, as he reveals at *Tristia* 2.549–52, near the end of his long letter appealing to Augustus for leniency:

sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos,  
cumque suo finem mense uolumen habet,  
idque tuo nuper scriptum sub nomine, Caesar,  
et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus.

I have written six books of *Fasti*, plus the same number, and with its month each volume finds its end, and this was recently written under your name, Caesar, and my fate broke a work dedicated to you.

These lines announce the existence of the *Fasti*, but as a poem that consists of six books plus six. They then emphasize the way the poem is divided into discrete books, name Caesar as the poem's dedicatee, and describe it as 'broken' by his lot. It is tempting to read *rupit* as 'broken in two', implying the separation of one half from the other, but the verb does not clearly mean this, for the same expression has been used at 1.7.14 *quod fuga rupit opus* – and there is no other reason to think that the fifteen books of the *Met.* are only half of the original plan. On the other hand the division of the *Fasti* into two groups of six books looks significant, as two other occurrences of *sex* + *totidem* evoke the *Fasti* itself: the count of the number of days left in June (and the poem) at *Fasti* 6.725, and the arrangement of the signs of the zodiac on the doors of the Sun's palace at *Met.* 2.18. Perhaps Ovid was already planning his publication

<sup>13</sup> *temporibus* 'temples' plays on the alternative sense 'times', and evokes the first word of the still unpublished *Fasti* (Hinds 1999: 56–7).

of January to June. The following verses (*Tristia* 2.555–62) encourage Augustus to have the end of the *Metamorphoses* read to him, thus confirming that the poem is available in Rome. Nothing is said, however, about reading the *Fasti*: this text has been written, but apparently not published.<sup>14</sup> Yet the use of the same phrase, *rupit opus*, to describe the damage done to both works draws attention to the fact that they were being composed at the same time, and invites us to consider in what other ways they are associated. The proem of the *Met.* (1.1–4) has an important, if covert, reference to the *Fasti*:

In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas  
corpora: di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa)  
adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi  
ad mea perpetuum deducite **tempora** carmen.

My mind impels me to tell of forms changed into new bodies: gods, inspire my beginnings (for you have changed them too), and from the first beginning of the world, bring the perpetual poem down to my own **times**.

*Tempora* is both the first word, and the subject matter of the *Fasti*: he points to it as the next work in the corpus. Both poems announce their subject matter in their opening lines: each is a catalogue poem, with transformations the subject in one, the calendar, including the celestial calendar, in the other (*Fasti* 1.1–4, 7–8, 13–14):

Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum  
lapsaque sub terras ortaue signa canam.  
excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, uultu  
hoc opus et timidæ derige nauis iter, ... 4  
sacra recognoscas annalibus eruta priscis  
et quo sit merito quæque notata dies. ... 8  
Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras  
et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies. 14

Times spread through the Latin year I shall sing, together with their explanations, and the constellations setting beneath the earth and rising. Caesar Germanicus, receive this work with calm face, and guide the voyage of my fearful ship. ... You will read rituals dug out of the ancient annals and by what service each day has earned its mark. ... Let others sing Caesar's arms, us Caesar's altars and whatever dates he added to the sacred calendar.

<sup>14</sup> Again in *Tristia* 3, when the *Met.* is mentioned as available in Rome (3.14.19–24), there is no talk of the *Fasti*.

The *Fasti* promises *Tempora cum causis*, where *causis*, just like *origo* (*Met.* 1.3), is a Latin equivalent to *aetia*; and both poems are full of aetiological tales, explanations of the origins of species (in the *Met.*), of constellations, of rituals, and of names (in the *Fasti*). Each poem tells its *aetia* by narrating myths, mainly Greek in the *Met.*, a rough balance of Greek and Roman in the *Fasti*. They both begin with creation out of chaos, the *Fasti* with the two-faced Janus' self-identification as a world without proper place and order, kept at the start of the Roman year as a memorial of creation (1.103–12). The *Metamorphoses* passes through the various cycles, such as the divine rapes of books 1 to 2, the grouped stories about Thebes (*Met.* 3.1–4.606), Theseus (7.404–9.97), and the Trojan War (11.751–13.622), leading into an *Aeneid* (13.623–14.608), and then tales of Italy and Rome in 14 and 15.

However, change remains the dominant topic of the *Metamorphoses*, in all kinds of ways, far beyond the concern to tell tales that involve a transformation of a human being into animal or bird, spring or tree (or occasionally *vice versa*) – there are perpetual changes of pace, tone, characterization, and genre. In the *Fasti*, on the other hand, the basic topic is not unitary: as the prologue announces, the poem will be concerned with other subjects; besides *tempora cum causis* (itself a plurality) and *dies*, the poem sings *sidera, stellae, signa, astra; sacra* and *aras*. It has rightly been a concern of recent research to explain this variety: it would for example have been entirely possible to write a poem on the Roman calendar without including any star-myths.<sup>15</sup> It may be that the contribution to variety is an essential point (see Section 6(f)). Ovid certainly gives the reader two different ways in which time may be apprehended, linearly and cyclically (Hinds 1999: 53).

When he tells the reader of the *Tristia* that both *Met.* and *Fasti* were interrupted by his exile, he encourages us to read the intertextuality between the two poems in each direction. Thus both include lengthy versions of the story of Persephone (*Met.* 5.341–571; *Fast.* 4.417–618), and each provides material which informs the other (Hinds 1987a).<sup>16</sup> As well as brief references (such as *arbore Phoebi*, 139, to the Daphne of *Met.* 1; 153–4 to Pythagoras in *Met.* 15), book 3 has longer episodes that connect directly with the *Met.* Numa and Egeria (259–392) carry the narrative also

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Newlands 1995: 28–9; and for a rather different take on the question, Gee 2000: 9–20.

<sup>16</sup> Hinds 2005: 208–11 shows how the Minyeides episode in *Met.* 4 exploits the *Fasti* for March: as workers of wool (*Met.* 4.32–5) they celebrate Minerva (19th March; 3.817–20), but when they should be worshipping Bacchus, on the Libera-lia, as it were (17th). Another repeated myth is Jupiter's rape of Callisto, with her metamorphoses into bear, and then Great Bear, the constellation (*Met.* 2.401–530; *Fast.* 2.153–92): see Robinson on *Fasti* 2.153–92.

in *Met.* 15.1–551 (see 261 n. for precise links to Egeria's metamorphosis). At 459–516 we revisit Ariadne and Bacchus some time after he brings her *amplexus et opem* on the shore of Dia (*Met.* 8.174–82). Once again she complains (*querentis*, 507; *querenti*, *Met.* 8.176), but now Bacchus, not Theseus, is the one accused of deserting her, and he brings an embrace (*amplexu*, 509), but an offer of godhead rather than practical help. Both poems have hymns to Bacchus, but, unlike the summoning prayer and praise reported at *Met.* 4.11–31, *Fasti* 3.715–24 is a negative hymn, listing the stories of the god that will not be told, including at 721 the killing of Pentheus by Agave (*Met.* 3.513–731), and culminating in 723–4 with the desire to speak of the transformation of the Etruscan pirates into dolphins, a promise that will be fulfilled at *Met.* 3.582–691.

More complex and significant is the interplay between the deification of Aeneas in *Met.* 14 and Anna Perenna at *Fasti* 3.647–56. Dido's sister arrives, shipwrecked, on the coast of Latium, in the third year after Dido's death (3.551–600). She meets Aeneas walking barefoot on the shore (3.603–26). He takes her home, asks Lavinia to look after her, and then disappears from the story (3.627–32). In the *Metamorphoses*, when the Trojans are settled in Latium, Venus persuades the gods that it is time for Aeneas to become a deity, Indiges, and arranges for his mortal elements to be washed away by the river Numicius (14.581–608). This fits with the prophecies of Jupiter in the *Aeneid* that he will reign for three years in Latium (1.265–6) and become the god Indiges (12.794–5). The *Fasti* story ends with Anna jumping out of the window to escape Lavinia's murderous jealousy, and becoming a nymph of the Numicius when she falls into the river; a reader who combines this with the information from Ovid's intertexts may feel that there is something in Lavinia's suspicions about an illicit relationship between her husband and the Punic princess. Both Aeneas and Anna become gods associated with the river Numicius, and in the same year. If we ask where Aeneas was going when they met on the shore, the answer is surely 'to the Numicius'; and he disappears from the narrative because he disappears from mortal sight. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it is Aeneas' disappearance that leads to his apotheosis, and the reported inscription actually equates him with the river Numicius (*Rom. Ant.* 1.64.4–5). Anna and Aeneas, Perenna and Indiges, thus end up together as the deities of the Numicius, happy ever after. The story could be woven together without the help of *Met.* 14, but Ovid has encouraged the reader to do the weaving through the use of shared language to connect the passages and by leaving the loose end of Aeneas' apparently inconsequential walk on the shore.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See 599, 601–4, 611, 647–8 nn. For a fuller account of this intertextual play, see Heyworth 2018b.

3. *FASTI* AND EXILE

The reference to the *Fasti* at the end of *Tristia* 2 is significant in laying foundations for *Tristia* 3, the first of the exile books to engage in detail with life in Tomi. After a sequence of poems that establish the distance from Rome, and family, and friends, some of the later pieces deal with aetiological and calendrical material: 3.9 explains the name of the city, derived from Medea's 'cuttings' (τόμῳι) of her brother Absyrtus to expedite the escape of the Argo; 3.10 describes winter, and 3.12 spring, verse 3 referring to Aries (cf. *Fasti* 3.851–76) and 4 to the equinox in words reworked from 3.878 – but in Tomi spring seems barely different from winter, the snow just melting (3.12.27–30: 235–42 n.).<sup>18</sup> *Tristia* 3.13 is a poem on Ovid's birthday (20th March: 813 n.), aptly placed adjacent to the equinox (26th March for Ovid), but misleadingly placed after it, perhaps a deliberate contribution to the disordering of time. Burial is imagined as happening on the roads leading out of Rome (3.3.65–78): Tomi is a place without ritual, without memorials, without interlocutors (3.14.39–40). No temples are mentioned, and the constellations that appear frequently are not those that measure out the progress of the sun by their risings and settings, but the Bears, Greater and Less (3.4.47, 3.11.8, 4.3.1, 5.3.7), which (in the poet's poetic fantasy) mark his place in the frozen north. The interest in calendrical material continues in later books, e.g. in *Tristia* 5.3, on the Liberalia (713–90 n.), and some of the instances of *tempora* are suggestive of comments on the work and its (lack of) progress, e.g. 4.1.105 *non melius quam sunt mea tempora carmen*, 5.10.5–6: *stare putes, adeo procedunt tempora tarde, | et peragit lentis passibus annus iter*.<sup>19</sup>

*Tristia* 1 and 2 present the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* as both fully drafted and in the later stages of composition when Ovid received the sudden edict dismissing him into distant exile. He authorizes the publication of the *Met.*, but the *Fasti* has not been made available to the public. The extant *Fasti* shows its lateness through the dedication to Germanicus, nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, presumably thought a more sympathetic figure than the emperor himself, perhaps because of his translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, the poem about the constellations, and their relationship to time and weather.<sup>20</sup> Late details appear also in the prophecy

<sup>18</sup> Green 2008: 188–95 compares the Ovid of *Fasti* 1.1–288 to the Ovid of the *Tristia*, 3.12 in particular, arguing for 'a consistent exilic persona'.

<sup>19</sup> See Hinds 2005: 213–25 on calendrical play in the later books of the *Tristia*, including 214–15 on 5.10.

<sup>20</sup> Fantham 1985. 1.285–6 indicate composition after 1st January 15, when the Senate voted Germanicus a triumph; the triumph was eventually celebrated on 26th May 17 (Syme 1978: 24).

of Carmentis (1.509–36),<sup>21</sup> and in the account of Concordia's temple, opened by Tiberius on the lower slopes of the Arx in AD 10 (or 12).<sup>22</sup> At 4.79–84 Germanicus is addressed for the first time since book 1, and reference to Scythia's distance from Sulmo points directly to Ovid's exile:

huius erat Solymus Phrygia comes unus ab Ida,  
 a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent, 80  
 Sulmonis gelidi, patriae, Germanice, nostrae:  
 me miserum, Scythico quam procul illa solo est!  
 ergo ego tam longe – sed supprime, Musa, querelas:  
 non tibi sunt maesta sacra canenda lyra.<sup>23</sup>

One companion of his [i.e. of Aeneas], from Phrygian Ida, was Solymus, from whom the city of Sulmo has its name, chilly Sulmo, our homeland, Germanicus: alas, how far that is from the soil of Scythia. Therefore I, so distant – but suppress complaints, Muse: you are not to sing rites on a sad lyre.

The point is compounded by *maesta lyra*: there is a danger that the *Fasti* (*sacra*) will be desecrated by the tone suited to the *Tristia*. These lines serve as an announcement that it is not merely the opening book that Ovid has tweaked between exile and publication. For the observant reader, the point is compounded by the presence of polysyllabic pentameter endings at 5.582 *fluminibus* and 6.660 *funeribus*. In general these can be seen as markers of composition in exile (Heyworth 2015: 143–8); and *funeribus* comes in the passage on the exile of the *tibicines* – they go only as far as Tibur, and we can plainly hear the voice of another exile in verse 666 *exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat*.<sup>24</sup>

We are thus invited to see all parts of the text as issued by a man living, against his will, in Tomi. Even without changes to the words, this may change the poem's meaning.<sup>25</sup> The most profound change has been wrought with a deletion, or at least a suspension: books 7–12 do not exist. It can hardly be coincidence that the books published take us up to, but not past the boundary of, the first of the two Caesarian months.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See Green 2004: 235–7; and 15–25 on revision and 'exilic resonances' generally.

<sup>22</sup> *DAR* 122; Green on 1.637–50; Heyworth 2011: 56–69.

<sup>23</sup> See Fantham *ad loc.* Other passages that she suggests may have been revised in exile include 4.305–12, 860.

<sup>24</sup> Heyworth 2018a: 114–18 explores further the material touched on in this and following paragraphs.

<sup>25</sup> See for example 344 n., and 488: Ariadne's attack on the hypocrisy of Bacchus is given more bite by the fact that the words *iudicio peccas turpius* all appear frequently in the exile poetry.

<sup>26</sup> There was a further plan to call September *Tiberius* after the emperor, October *Liuius* after Livia, but Tiberius refused (Suetonius, *Tib.* 26.2). Barchiesi 1997b:

At 4.16 Venus says *coeptum perfice ... opus* – in contrast to her descendant Caesar, who fails to get the work completed.<sup>27</sup> On the one hand, there is a dense collection of closural material at the end of book 6 (Barchiesi 1997b: 197–207). But we also find references to episodes to be narrated in non-existent later books: e.g. 3.57–8 on the Larentalia in December, 3.199–200 on the rape of the Sabine maidens at the Consualia.<sup>28</sup> The poet wants us to see the poem as both finished and unfinished, written in Rome and written in Tomi, composed both before exile and years later, after the death of Augustus.

It is quite possible for a passage of the *Tristia* to allude to the *Fasti* and the same passage of the *Fasti* to allude to the same passage of the *Tristia*. At *Tristia* 2.346 the phrase *sollicitare toros* occurs in Ovid's denial to Augustus that he could have taught *furta*, of which he knew nothing, and again at *Ex Ponto* 3.3.49–50 in his assertion of Cupid's knowledge of his innocence: these recall Ariadne's words about Bacchus' adultery (*ausus es ... sollicitare torum*, 3.483–4); but that couplet in turn contrasts the god, who has returned from eastern victories like a triumphant Roman general, with the upright Ovid. We can also see such developments in *Fasti* 3.259–92. Numa is depicted as a man of peace, author of a calendar, keen to promote legal and religious order, dealing with thunderbolts, and engaging in conversation with various gods: he offers numerous analogies for Ovid himself, as the peaceful poet, *decemuir*, and author of the *Fasti*. In exile Ovid presents himself as the victim of a thunderbolt,<sup>29</sup> and he writes *Tristia* 2 and other passages addressed to Caesar, and thus becomes, like Numa, a 'man not to be excluded from conversation with the gods' (*Fasti* 3.344). Numa's Jupiter mitigates his thundering speech and deadly demands in response to a witty conversation; but having *fas* and legality on your side is insufficient in the world of Augustus. The analogy in situation may originate in coincidence, but the poet exploits it in the *Tristia*, and again when the *Fasti* was published in its revised form.<sup>30</sup>

Another character from book 3 whose story relates repeatedly to Ovid's is Anna, the sister of Dido.<sup>31</sup> Both cross stormy seas to dangerous locations. A key word of Ovid's exile recurs at the start and end of the journey: the Carthaginians head wherever *error* sends them (555), and

199 lists the Augustan anniversaries that might have delighted readers of the *Fasti* for July, August, September.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Feeney 1992: 16–17 (14–19 are important on the poem's lack of completeness); Hinds 1999: 57.

<sup>28</sup> Cross-references to passages in the extant books appear at 3.791, 4.947–8, 5.721, 5.723–4.

<sup>29</sup> *Tristia* 1.1.72, 2.179, 5.3.31.

<sup>30</sup> See 309–14, 325–6 nn.; and Heyworth 2018b. For connexions and contrasts between Mamurius and the exiled Ovid, see 383, 389–90 nn.

<sup>31</sup> See 547, 563–6, 576, 591–6, 621–2 nn. for details.



Anna gives an account of her *errores* at 626; though the poet has been driven from Rome by an *error*, he, however, refuses to give an account of it (*Tristia* 2.207–8). At 3.593–4 we read:

uincitur ars uento nec iam moderator habenis  
utitur, at uotis is quoque poscit opem.

The words *uotis is quoque<sup>32</sup> poscit opem* recall *Tristia* 1.11.21–2: during the final leg of his voyage to Tomi, Ovid has described the similar reaction of his helmsman to stormy conditions – raising his hands to the stars, he seeks aid with prayers, forgetful of his craft (*exposcit uotis, immemor artis, opem*). He is thus pointedly contrasted with the poet himself, the one abandoning his art, the other still writing poems despite the storms that assail him, both real and metaphorical (*Tristia* 1.11.9–10, 17–18, 33–4). The shared phrasing that interconnects the two couplets includes the noun *ars*. Anna is like Ovid in facing the storms of sea and exile. However, though Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* may have been overwhelmed by the storm of exile (*uincitur ars uento*), his poetic craft has not been.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4. FASTI AND CALENDARS

The *Fasti* is a poem about the calendar,<sup>34</sup> written at a time when the Julian calendar was a matter of pride and celebration in Italy – fragments of over 40 inscribed calendars are extant from the Julio-Claudian period (mostly from the Augustan and Tiberian eras)<sup>35</sup> – and when there was new value in dating the settings and risings of the stars and the progress of the seasons, given the stability that the 365¼-day year promised for the astral calendar.<sup>36</sup>

Hesiod's *Works & Days* provides our earliest extant survey of the celestial and agricultural year (381–617); such almanacs recur in later works on farming, and both Varro (*Agr.* 1.27–36) and Columella (*R.R.* 11.2), writing after 45 BC, are able to include reference to precise dates, indicated by month (Varro in 1.28), as well as to the movements of the stars. However, they are concerned with what work needs doing when, and not with the festivals of the religious calendar. In the third century Callimachus had written on the different names of the months in various places (Pfeiffer

<sup>32</sup> *quoque* means 'even' here, but the sense 'also' marks the allusion.

<sup>33</sup> See Heyworth 2018b: 284 on possible allusions to *ars* at 3.545–6.

<sup>34</sup> See Pasco-Pranger 2006 for extended reflection on this aspect of the poem.

<sup>35</sup> Only the pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates* is earlier, and virtually all the few later examples are from the fourth century or later: see Rüpke 2011: viii–xii, 9, 140–5. The more recently discovered *Fasti Albenses* are Tiberian too: Letta 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Already in the years after 45 Virgil had seen the significance of the revision as a tool for commemorating rituals so that they were established 'for ever' (*Ecl.* 1.6–8, 42–3; n.b. 7 *semper*).

1949: 339, and fr. 521); and we have a hexameter fragment from the *Menes* ('Months') of his older contemporary Simias of Rhodes (fr. 8 Powell); again these seem to have only a marginal similarity to Ovid's poem, which in its extant portion begins each book with etymology of the month's name, but then moves through the individual anniversaries, day by day. Perhaps the closest parallel lay in an unfinished and lost work of Sabinus, listed among other contemporary poets at *Ex Ponto* 4.16.15–16 *quique suam †trisoem† imperfectumque dierum | deseruit celeri morte Sabinus opus*. Sabinus is described in the previous couplet as the author of replies to some of Ovid's single epistles, as mentioned at *Am.* 2.18.27–34; but we know nothing more about the 'incomplete work on days'.<sup>37</sup> Later prose accounts may be found in Censorinus, *de die natali* (76 n.); Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12–16 (see e.g. 135–50 nn.); the *de Mensibus* of Johannes Lydus (John the Lydian, writing in Greek in sixth-century Byzantium). The polymath Varro must have been the source of much of this learning and theorizing, and he is sometimes explicitly cited (89–96 n.): some etymologies of terms for time are gathered together in *de Lingua Latina* 6.3–34.

The earth revolves once in 24 hours, a day. The period in which the moon moves round the earth lasts just over 29½ days, a month. The earth circles round the sun in just under 365¼ days, a year.<sup>38</sup> People have naturally used these recurrent periods to measure out time. As none is a multiple of another, systems of measurement cannot be both neat and accurate, and the history of time as a cultural phenomenon is a history of competition between different patterns and traditions.<sup>39</sup>

The concepts of a day and a year are not problematic for the student of Roman time. The months of the Julian calendar, as described by Ovid and used today, have no connexion with the lunar cycle; but the way in which he and other Romans thought about months is due to their lunar origin (n.b. *Luna regit menses*, 3.883), and some clarification may be helpful. In the Roman tradition, like others, the lunar month began with the first day after the night on which the new moon was visible. As some lunar months have 29 days and some 30, the observing priests would use the size of the crescent to determine whether the full moon (the Ides<sup>40</sup>) would come on

<sup>37</sup> For later poetry on months and days see e.g. Ausonius XIV.1–16 Green, and Courtney 1988.

<sup>38</sup> None of these figures is precise: in any case they vary according to what precisely is being measured ('solar' days are different from 'stellar' days, e.g.).

<sup>39</sup> On the enormous difficulty of reckoning time in a way that marks the movements of sun and moon and satisfies the demands of religion and society, see e.g. Holford-Strevens 2005. For a properly sceptical account of what we can construct of ancient systems, Stern 2012. Chapter 7 of Rüpke 2012 provides fascinating and informed speculation on the development of the Roman *fasti*.

<sup>40</sup> See Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.15.14–17 for speculation about the derivation: from *iduate*, the Etruscan for *diuidere*, in his judgement.

the 13th or 15th, and whether the Nones, 'nine' days before (counting inclusively) and intended to coincide with the half moon as it waxed, would be marked on the 5th or 7th.<sup>41</sup> Traditionally the people were summoned on the 1st (*Kalendae*) to hear the days 'announced' (*calati*: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.27) on which these monthly ceremonies would occur. These three days were used for dating purposes before the reforms of Julius Caesar in 46/45 BC, and long afterwards, each day being indicated as on, or (counting inclusively) so many days before the next of, the Nones, Ides or Kalends: as a result the second half of each month counts down towards the Kalends of the next. More of the month comes after the Ides because the period where the moon does not reflect the sun's light counts in the old month. Equivalent to the Nones in marking the half-point of the moon's waning was the Tubilustria, recorded in the calendar for 23 March and 23 May, 'nine' days after each Ides, but otherwise obscured because it regularly coincided with more important annual festivals.<sup>42</sup>

In Rome, however, the length of the months had long been fixed, and separated from any need for observation of the sky. According to the account of Ovid (1.27–42, 3.99–150) and others the original calendar, set up by Romulus, had only ten months. This implies either a calendar that had no connexion with the solar year, or else the acceptance of a dead period between mid winter and the coming of spring in which time was not reckoned:<sup>43</sup> given the lack of antique festivals between 1st January and the Ides of February, the latter seems at least possible – between 15th and 24th February the topsy-turvy ritual of the Lupercalia, the ceremonies for the dead, and the marking of closure with the Terminalia and the Regifugium all suit the imminence of a new year. But such features also make sense if February is the final month of twelve, the calendar supposedly designed by Romulus' more erudite successor Numa (1.43–4, 3.151–4).

Numa's calendar had 355 days (four months of 31, seven of 29, plus February's 28). As a result it would quickly get out of step with the solar

<sup>41</sup> There was an obsession with odd numbers, perhaps due to Pythagorean numerology (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.13.5 *Numa in honorem imparis numeri, secretum hoc et ante Pythagoram parturiente natura*; DServ. on Virg. *Ecl.* 8.75 *numero deus impare gaudet*). This is apparent in the length of the pre-Julian months (either 29 or 31 days except for the inauspicious February), and in the way festivals occur on e.g. 15th (Anna Perenna), 17th (Liberalia), and 19th (Quinquatrus) March.

<sup>42</sup> So Rüpke 2011: 26–34; in each case a religious *comitium* is indicated for the following day by the abbreviation *QRCF* (see Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.31). Rüpke assumes that the purified trumpets were blown to encourage the waning moon to return; more likely I think is that on the Tubilustria they were prepared for subsequent use, and blown at the end of the month, in the darkness of the moon (849–50, 883–4 nn.).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.39.

year, an unfortunate effect given the prominence of *sacra* designed to appease agricultural deities (in April in particular); the deficiency was supposed to be made good by the intercalation every other year of a month that replaced the last five days of February.<sup>44</sup> But political instability repeatedly obstructed the process, and Julius Caesar, supremely powerful in Rome, and Pontifex Maximus, had the authority and insight to institute a fundamental reform and create a calendar that would continue to operate straightforwardly for centuries.<sup>45</sup> The Roman year was brought into line with the solar year by extending 46 BC to 445 days (Rüpke 2011: 111), and the Julian calendar began to operate on 1st January 45 BC. But Ovid's *Fasti* reduces the year once more, to a mere six months, as if under Augustus and his successor it has become even shorter than through Romulus' miscalculation.

The inscribed *Fasti* present the months in columns from left to right, January to December, and the days from top to bottom in sequence.<sup>46</sup> Every day is marked with an abbreviation to indicate its civic status, as Ovid explains at 1.47–53: *F* (*fastus*) for days when legal business happens, *N* (*nefastus*) or a ligature of *NP* (perhaps *nefas piaculum*: Rüpke 2011: 50–5) for those when it does not; *C* (*comitalis*) for those when elections may be held; other days change their status (marked with *EN*: Rüpke 2011: 56). In the initial column is recorded the position of the day in the nundinal cycle of market days: 1st January is assigned the letter A, and so on till the 8th, marked H; and then the cycle begins again (1.54).<sup>47</sup> Three days are named in every month: the Kalends, the Ides (mostly on the 13th, but 15th in March, May, July, October), and eight days before that the Nones. Finally there are the annual religious festivals, usually abbreviated, recorded in large letters if particularly ancient (LIBER<ALIA> for 17th March on the *Fasti Antiates*), otherwise in a smaller script (ANN<AE> PERENNAE for the Ides, MINERVAE for 19th March). It is the presence of these rituals and (especially) the stories they evoke that gave Ovid the opportunity to create a poem that expresses a varied and powerful vision

<sup>44</sup> Stern 2012: 206–7 gives a convenient summary with references.

<sup>45</sup> Two tweaks were necessary, one when in the Augustan era it was discovered that the rules for periodically intercalating a single day had been misapplied – every three years instead of every four (Rüpke 2011: 116; Stern 2012: 214–16), the second with the gradual move to the Gregorian calendar (see e.g. Holford-Strevens 2005: 33–43).

<sup>46</sup> See Degraffi 1963; and for some examples in translation Beard, North, & Price 1998: 2.60–9.

<sup>47</sup> As the cycle of eight days ('nine' by Roman inclusive counting) continued into the next year, the letter pointing to a market day would change each year, but remain stable for the 12-month period. The period was doubtless chosen to match a phase of the moon; but as that is closer to seven days than eight, it is perhaps not surprising that the Roman system was eventually replaced by the seven-day week taken over from Jewish tradition.

of Roman life. Among the inscribed *Fasti* the fragments of the *Fasti Praenestini* (Degrassi 1963: 107–45) are uniquely important as providing an intellectual background to Ovid's poem, for to the usual entries the marble panels add explanations of the months' names and the festivals. These learned notes stem from the teacher Verrius Flaccus, of whom Suetonius, *Gramm.* 17 gives a brief account ending thus: *statuam habet Praeneste in superiore fori parte circa hemicyclium in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat*. Kaster *ad loc.* finds merit in the theory that what survives is partly made up of excerpts from a work by Verrius on the calendar. The most substantial fragments that survive, on display in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome, are for January, April, December – and March (mainly the beginning and end).<sup>48</sup>

Ovid's text gives at least a couplet to the traditional rituals mentioned for March in the inscribed *Fasti*: the various events of the Kalends (135–44, as well as 167–392), the natal dates of the temples of Veiovis on the Nones and Luna on the 31st, the Equirria on the 14th, Anna Perenna on the Ides, followed by the Liberalia on the 17th,<sup>49</sup> the Quinquatrus on the 19th, the Tubilustria on the 23rd. He also notes two recent additions: Salus, Concordia, and Pax on the 30th, and Augustus becoming Pontifex Maximus on the 6th. But he omits two military anniversaries, Julius Caesar's victory at Munda on the 17th and his capture of Alexandria on the 27th, as well as the involvement of Mars on and around the Tubilustria (849–50 n.). On the other hand, he adds many references to the natural and social calendars: 877–8, on the equinox; 235–44, describing 1st March as the start of spring (cf. the return of the swallow at 2.853–6), 525–38 on the drunken picnic in the sunshine to welcome Anna Perenna; 393–8, on the avoidance of some days in March for weddings; 771–88, on the Liberalia as an occasion for granting the *toga uirilis*.

Most common, and announced already in 1.2, are the references to the setting and rising of stars.<sup>50</sup> For those living in a world without perpetual cloud or ambient light, the cycle of the sun was conveniently marked out by the coincidence (or near coincidence) of sunset and sunrise with the appearance and disappearance of prominent constellations above or below the horizon. This is how Hesiod and Aratus parcel out the year, and the practice continues (as has been said) in Varro and Columella, as well as the calendrical chapters of the book on agriculture in Pliny's *Natural History* (18.207–71). Astronomical records dependent on the human eye and hand will not be entirely precise, and observations made

<sup>48</sup> For citations and discussion, see e.g. 79–98, 849–50 nn., and the index s.v. '*Fasti Praenestini*'.

<sup>49</sup> For the Agonia, also marked for this day, see 713–90, 727–32 nn.

<sup>50</sup> Gee 2000 is a monograph that focuses on the astral element within the poem.

in Alexandria (e.g.) will not be accurate for Rome, so it is not surprising that these authors make mistakes, as does Ovid. In his case, too, poetic style often leads to imprecision about what is being described (407–8 n.). However, recent work has shown that he is not systematically less accurate than the prose writers,<sup>51</sup> though he is occasionally fanciful – notably in turning the migrating black kite into a star that requires an aetiology, one that feeds into the themes of his book by using *sacra* to determine war (3.793–808).

## 5. BOOK 3

### (a) *Synopsis*

- 1–166: March named after Mars by Romulus, originally the first month of the year
  - including (11–78) the rape of Silvia, the birth and growth of the twins
- 167–258: conversation with Mars, who explains why the Matronalia is on 1st March
  - including (179–228) the intervention of the Sabine Women to stop the war and (245–8) natal date of temple of Juno Lucina
- 259–392: action for the rites of the Salii
  - including (261–84) introduction to Egeria and Numa, (285–344) the invention of the rites of Elician Jove to expiate thunder, (345–78) Jupiter's sending of the *ancile*, which (379–92) Numa has Mamurius copy, and gives the *ancilia* to the Salii
- 393–8: do not wed when the Salii are bearing arms
- 399–402: 3rd March: *Pisces*
- 403–14: 5th March: *Bootes* (= *Arctophylax*) and *Vindemitor*
  - including (409–14) the story of Ampelos and Bacchus
- 415–28: 6th March: anniversary of Augustus becoming Pontifex Maximus
- 429–48: 7th/Nones of March: natal date of temple of Veiovis
- 449–58: *Equus* (Pegasus)
- 459–516: 8th March: *Cretan Crown*
  - including (461–516) the story of Ariadne's life married to Bacchus
- 517–22: 14th March: the Second Equirria
- 523–696: 15th/Ides of March: the celebration of Anna Perenna
  - including (545–656) the coming of Anna to Latium after Dido's death and (663–74) the tale of Anna of Bovillae and (675–96) an action for ribald songs: Anna's tricking of Mars

<sup>51</sup> Robinson 2007, and 2009 on the difficulties in general; Gee 2000: 205–8; Fox 2004.

697–710: Vesta does not let Ovid pass over the assassination of Julius Caesar

711–12: 16th March: *Scorpio*

713–90: 17th March: Liberalia

including (725–62) Bacchus' discovery of honey, an action for honey cakes (*liba*) and (771–84) the reasons for giving the *toga libera* on this day

791–2: 17th and 16th March: the Argei (a cross-reference: 5.621–62)

793–808: the *Kite*

including (795–808) the kite's role in ending the war between gods and titans

809–848: 19th–23rd March: Quinquatrus, festival of Minerva

and (835–48) 19th March: natal date of the temple of Minerva Capta

849–50: 23rd March: Tubilustria

851–76: *Aries*, including the aetiological story of Phrixus and Helle

877–8: 26th March: the equinox

879–82: 30th March: festival of Janus, Salus, Concordia, and Pax

883–4: 31st March: festival of Luna

#### (b) *Beginning and Continuing*

Where you begin the ever continuing cycle of the year is an arbitrary decision. This issue is to the fore at the opening of book 3, which marks both the continuation of a year and a poem two months old, and the start of a new year, according to other ways of presenting the calendar: Ovid points out at 3.135–50 that March was the original beginning of the year, as is shown by the naming of the months in the second half of the year (Quintilis to December, fifth to tenth: 3.149–50; cf. 1.42). Spring's newness seems to warrant this, and Ovid's 12-line argument for a spring beginning (1.149–60, material reworked at 3.235–42) has hardly been matched by Janus' couplet in reply (1.163–4).<sup>52</sup> We may read the address to *Bellice Mars* as a fitting invocation of Romulus' father and a continuation of Ovid's policy of imitating the opening *Arma* of the *Aeneid*. Moreover, a poem on the Roman calendar aptly begins with the conception of the city's founder: verses 9–42 not only describe the event, but through Silvia's dream prophesy Roman domination of the world (33–4). And yet Silvia is already *Romana* (9), and already a Vestal seeking water from a river that might be the Tiber. And Mars has already appeared at the end of book 2, watching the Equirria on his own Campus Martius, arriving in good time

<sup>52</sup> See Martelli 2013: 121–4; 124–31 then show how Ovid's text gives apertural qualities to April too, and even June.

for his month, and taking over the end of February,<sup>53</sup> just as Janus has occupied the start (*Ianus habet finem*, 2.1). The start of book 4 will repeatedly look back to 3:<sup>54</sup> Venus the mother of Aeneas is a counterpart to Mars the father of Romulus, and they are joined by time as well as in bed (4.129–30). The stars also provide continuity between books:<sup>55</sup> thus entry of the sun into Aries is noted in 3.851–2, and the departure at 4.715–16. Scorpio appears for the first time in the poem at 3.711–12, and will recur at 4.163–4 and 5.417–18. The first two constellations mentioned as marking time in book 3 (399–406) have already appeared at 2.458 (Pisces) and 2.190 (Arctophylax). The next (Vindemitor) introduces Bacchus to the book, and thus initiates the series of stories that culminates in the Liberalia (407–14, 459–516, 713–90).

Another technique Ovid uses to maintain a sense of progress is through the regular indications of where we are in the month: 399 *tertia nox*, 404 *quintae tempora lucis*, 415–16 *sextus ... Phoebus*, 429 *Nonis* (followed by nightfall, 449, and the following night, 459), 517–18 six days pass, 523 *Idibus*, 711 *postera ... Aurora*, 713 *tertia post Idus lux*, 809 *una dies media est et fiunt sacra Mineruae*, leading into an account of the Quinquatrus as a five-day festival, 849 *summa dies e quinque*, followed by three dawns (877) plus four nights (879–80). Only in the final couplet, where we read that Luna finishes the month, is there no direct expression of date or progress. At few points is there narrative continuity, however, and at times the poet confuses the clarity he has established: *hac ... praeteritaque die* takes us back a day at 792, and *illa nocte* in 794 then leaves open which of the two nights it refers to.<sup>56</sup> Connexions are provided by verbal and structural links: 450 *colla uidebis equi* and 519 *spectabis Equirria* enclose the Cretan Crown between rather different viewings of horses. As in the Ariadne episode, so in the account of Anna's adventures after the death of Dido, 'Ovid offers a sequel to a famous hexameter narrative which is also a kind of re-enactment of that narrative' (Hinds 1987b: 17). Another version of Anna Perenna is the hard-working baker who distributes *liba* to the Roman *plebs* (670–2); she thus prepares what will be the centrepiece of Ovid's account of the Liberalia some 50 lines later (725–62). Even Julius Caesar, whose assassination the poet was intending to omit (697), has his place in the programmatic passage at 145–66, alongside Anna and Numa.

<sup>53</sup> See 517–22 n. for the text of 2.857–62.

<sup>54</sup> See 1–6 nn.; 4.1–12 are cited on p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> This section emphasizes continuity; for discontinuity, more important as a force within the poem, see section 6(f), and e.g. Newlands 2000 on the poem's 'fractured poetics' (173). The two are emphatically juxtaposed in the move from the sequential 1–392 to the variegated 393–458.

<sup>56</sup> See 517, 815 nn. for other areas of disorder or uncertainty.



The set of stories with which book 3 begins (9–392) is much the longest narrative sequence in the poem (the rape of Persephone and Ceres' search comes next: 4.417–618). Mars' rape of Silvia leads on to the birth and early life of the twins, the founding of Rome and its calendar; his reply to Ovid takes Romulus' story further, with the rape of the Sabine girls and their eventual peace-making; tales of Numa follow. In its sweep this matches the untypically epic opening of the *Metamorphoses*, where the creation story leads on to the flood and its aftermath; proper disorder is only established with the appearance of love at 1.452. Minerva will be the focus of attention as the patroness of crafts in 3.809–50: the poet prepares for this by telling Mars in 5–6 that she should be a model for what he might do in peace as in war. Mars responds at 173–6, and by 681 he has fallen in love with the virgin goddess. The disarming of Mars is the key symbol of the book's themes, a programme for the move from war to peace (see Section 6(f)) and the valuing of *sacra* over *arma* which can be seen also in the succession of Numa to Romulus (277–84), in the transformation of the *ancile* from weaponry to an object of *ars* and ritual (379–92), in the vignettes dedicated to Veiovis (437–48) and the Kite (793–808).

### (c) Religion and Theology

Religion was not a separable element within Roman life: any activity (e.g. eating, drinking, or going out in the morning) might be marked, at times unthinkingly, by behaviour we could classify as religious: a prayer, a small libation, stepping with the propitious right foot first. When Horace writes a hymn to a wine-jar (*Carm.* 3.21) the form is parodic, but the underlying principle is not a joke: if there is a god of wine, and there is (Bacchus/Liber), he can be instantiated and worshipped in any wine, just as Horace earlier in the same book addresses a single spring (*O fons Bandusiae*, 3.13.1) as his part in the community's celebration of fresh water.

The *Fasti* is not primarily concerned with everyday practice, but with the festivals significant enough to earn a place on the semi-official calendars. Even in this area it does not attempt to give an exhaustive account of religious practice, but within a single book it does provide a richly varied picture of the activities that accompanied state festivities.<sup>57</sup> On the one hand Ovid's notice for the festival of Luna (883–4) concentrates on her closural function for month (and thus book); *Auentino Luna colenda iugo* tells where the temple was, but nothing of the rite. On the other, verses 137–44 list the holy places where the new year was signified on 1st March by renewals of foliage and fire. Place dominates at first for Juno Lucina

<sup>57</sup> See p. 17 for a list of the festivals treated in March.

(245–8), Veiovis (429–48), and Minerva Capta (835–48); for Veiovis and Minerva questions of etymology and identity then take over, while the passage on Juno Lucina ends with instructions to the *matronae* participating: they are to garland the goddess with flowers and pray to her. The poet himself prays to Vesta (426–8), and encourages anyone at the temple to offer incense (417–18). Other offerings include the votive tablets at Nemi (268), the *liba* at the Liberalia, and the onion, human hair, and fish with which thunder is to be expiated (339–43). Performance too can be used to celebrate the divine: torch-lit processions for Diana (269–70), obscene songs and heavy drinking for Anna Perenna (695–6, 523–42), *ludi* for Liber (but at the Cerealia now: 785–6), gladiatorial combat for Minerva (813–14), singing and vigorous dancing by the Salii. The Salii are just one of the priestly colleges whom *Fasti* 3 describes engaging in ritual, along with the Vestals (11–14),<sup>58</sup> the Flamines (137, 397), and the Pontifex Maximus (419–28; cf. also 706).

Gods are unstable entities.<sup>59</sup> Their representation and their cult varies from time to time and from place to place, and, as we know from Augustine's famous citation of Varro, the Romans understood that there were different ways of considering deity: the civic, the mythic, and the philosophical.<sup>60</sup> Even within a single author or work an individual deity may be approached in all three ways, and have a confused variety of different aspects. Anna Perenna and Minerva Capta illustrate that point in *Fasti* 3, and the poem as a whole combines all three Varronian theologies: it is structured by the calendar of state cults, the natal dates of temples, and the other occasions that came to be inscribed in the *Fasti*; by describing ritual and giving aetia it reinforces public practice and understanding.<sup>61</sup> Aetia also reinforce the mythic sense of deity through the narratives that recount old stories of god and god, and god and man, and develop new ones; the mythic component is increased by the presence of the astronomical material, which does not relate to Roman cult, but allows the poet to include catasterisms, sometimes narrated at length. Aetia contribute to philosophical theology as well, in giving explanations for how the world comes to be the way it is.

<sup>58</sup> It is striking that the foundation myth has Silvia's duties for Vesta repeatedly interrupted, by tiredness and Mars (15–22), the fall of her official *uitta* (29–30) – and childbirth (45–8).

<sup>59</sup> This and the next paragraph summarize some of the key points from Heyworth 2018c.

<sup>60</sup> Augustine, *C.D.* 6.5 *deinde illud quale est, quod tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationis quae de diis explicatur, eorumque unum mythicon appellari, alterum physicon, tertium civile*? See e.g. Lieberg 1973, Feeney 1998 (123–33 on Ovid's *Fasti*), Green 2002 (on book 4).

<sup>61</sup> For such speculations as religious activity, see Beard 1987, Scheid 1992.

March is of course Mars' month, and Ovid's book begins by addressing him, *Bellice*. But the monotonously aggressive god plays little part in the month, and war even less.<sup>62</sup> Mars has a role like Chaos in the *Metamorphoses*, uniform and thus inert (*Met.* 1.5–9).<sup>63</sup> The progress of each poem depends on a move away from the origin – of the universe, or of Rome. Though Mars is acknowledged as the forefather of the city, there is far more to celebrate in other deities. He is disarmed in the opening sequence, and falls captive to Silvia and later (comically) to Minerva and Anna; Jupiter too is disarmed, and made to laugh. Even when Mars might have a chance to appear as victorious *ultor* (697–710, n.b. *ulcisci*, 710), the divine voice is given to Vesta, and he has no chance to redeem his masculinity after the mockery of 675–96. As the book progresses, Mars is displaced by Minerva, with her command of the arts of peace as well as of war, and by Bacchus, who appears in two tales of erotic catasterisms, represented as the conqueror of India and first triumphator. He is thus a potent analogue for Roman generals – and his wife Ariadne/Libera becomes an analogue for the dynastic wife. But Liber is also the discoverer of wine and honey, and of sacrifice; he is the god of drama, drunkenness, laughter, and freedom. The *Liberalia* is a frequent occasion for the granting of the *toga libera*; but Ovid's storytelling here avoids obscenity. Yet despite Rome's attempts at constraint, other attributes of the god spread across the month. The man whose own freedom had been constrained by banishment far from Rome celebrates in Mars' month not Rome's wars, but the drunken partying of the common people, welcoming the new spring, and hoping to see many more.

(d) *History and Myth*

The *Fasti* tells stories drawn from all time since the creation (1.103–12). The poem's temporal variegation may be brought into focus if we categorize these stories in five groups,<sup>64</sup> each of which features in Ovid's March:

- (i) mythical history: 409–14 Bacchus and Ampelos; 437–44 gigantomachy, the childhood of Jupiter; 451–8 Pegasus; 461–516 Ariadne and Bacchus; 677–96 Mars, Minerva, and Anna; 725–62 Bacchus' discovery of honey; 795–808 titanomachy; 851–76 Ino, Phrixus, and Helle;
- (ii) pre-Roman history: 545–656 Anna the sister of Dido;

<sup>62</sup> On the disarming and replacement of Mars in book 3, see e.g. Hinds 1992, Merli 2000: 117–29, Chiu 2016: 96–101.

<sup>63</sup> Contrast the Mars of Cato, *Agr.* 141, whose role as protector of territory has expanded into agricultural functions (Woodard 2006: 232–5, 257–65, with further references).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the analysis of Fantham 1983: 211–13.

- (iii) regal history: 11–78 the rape of Silvia, the twins, the foundation of Rome and the calendar; 151–4 Numa's calendar; 179–228 the Sabine Women; 259–392 Numa; 431–4 Romulus' Asylum;
- (iv) republican history: 663–74 Anna of Bovillae and the secession of the Plebs; 843–4 the capture of Falerii;
- (v) recent history: 155–66 Julius Caesar's calendar; 415–28 Augustus becomes Pontifex Maximus; 697–710 assassination of Julius Caesar.

Extended narratives about Romulus and Numa dominate the first half of the book; the second half contains the one pre-Roman story set in Italy, in the long account of Anna, but otherwise oscillates between myth and more modern material. There is a timelessness about these tales: after acquiring Ariadne from Theseus, Liber conquers India (461–6) and invents bovine sacrifice (732 *deque triumphato uiscera tosta boue*); this prepares for the scene of bovine sacrifice in the titanomachy (803 *uis-cera ... tauri flammis adolenda*) – even though the conflict between gods and titans is normally thought of as long before the age of heroes such as Theseus. The temple of Veiovis was built on the Arx in the 190s, but in associating it with Romulus and the adjacent Asylum Ovid makes it seem a far older construction, a precursor of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as Veiovis is of Jove. The absence of deities from Anna's adventures, until her final drowning in the Numicius, makes that seem a more modern<sup>65</sup> tale than stories dependent on the access to the gods enjoyed by Romulus and Numa, or indeed Vesta's personal connexion to the Caesars.

Throughout, the *Fasti* is a great repository of Roman myth. Some of it is old, and some recent, the invention of the Augustan age or Ovid himself; but it is not always easy to know which is which.<sup>66</sup> It has been commonly thought that he is the first to link Anna Perenna with the sister of Dido, but evidence has now been observed that suggests Virgil is already playing on this identification in *Aeneid* 4 (545–656 n.). An extreme example is Bremmer's claim (1993: 160–5), following Bömer (3.259 n.), that Mamurius Veturius was invented early in the Augustan period, perhaps at the time of the inclusion of the name of the *princeps* in the song of the Salii. The major argument for this is the absence of Mamurius from Varro's *de Lingua Latina*: at 6.49 he mentions the interpretation of the phrase *mamuri ueturi* as *memoria uetus*, but makes no reference to the alternative. The smith Mamurius first appears as the creator of the imitation *ancilia* at 2.71.2 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (followed by Ovid at *Fasti* 3.260, 379–92), and as the sculptor of a bronze statue of Vertumnus at Prop. 4.2.61–4. Chronologically then the argument seems

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Catullus 64.384–404.

<sup>66</sup> Two certain sources are plays and histories: see Section 6(a) for references.

plausible. One possible counter-argument is the apparently primitive nature of the rituals involving Mamurius, who is described as a scape-goat figure at Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.36.<sup>67</sup> However, we should not put much weight on this: Wiseman 2008: 18–22 has shown how the association of Anna Perenna with virgin blood (Martial 4.64.16–17) belongs to the new shrine of the first century AD, not to an antique tradition. More troubling for Bremmer's thesis, however, are the places where Mamurius appears: none of these are texts closely connected to the myth-making of the regime, whereas Virgil in the *Aeneid* leaves no role for Mamurius when he writes *lapsa ancilia caelo* (8.664).

(e) *Allegory*

Dionysius [tyrant of Syracuse] took pleasure in drinking with Philoxenus. But when Philoxenus was caught seducing his mistress Galatea,<sup>68</sup> he was cast into the stone-quarries. While there he wrote his *Cyclops* and connected the myth to the events he had been involved in by substituting the Cyclops for Dionysius, Galatea for the *aulos*-girl, Odysseus for himself.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.6e–7a

The allegorical mode is a persistent one in the ancient world, both for readers and writers, especially those who have displeased or fear autocrats. Section 3 has already considered some ways in which Anna, as an exile assailed by storm and misfortune, is a figure for the exiled Ovid himself. In the first of the double epistles, apparently composed after some years in exile, Paris writes for Ovid as well as himself when he talks about being sent on a voyage by divine power (*Ep.* 16.17–18) and claims that he is not able to keep his love (poetry) hidden (3–8).<sup>69</sup> It is presumably not a coincidence that Ovid has Paris encourage allegorical reading:

a, quotiens aliquem narraui potus amorem,  
ad uultus referens singula uerba tuos,  
indiciumque mei ficto sub nomine feci:  
ille ego, si nescis, uerus amator eram.

<sup>67</sup> See Stern 1974; Bettini 2015: 154–9, discussing two imperial mosaics that have the image of a skin being beaten by sticks to symbolize the Mamuralia/March; cf. Servius, *Aen.* 7.188 *quod ne aliquando hostis agnosceret, per Mamurium fabrum multa similia fecerunt: cui et diem consecrarunt, quo pellem uirgis ferunt ad artis similitudinem.*

<sup>68</sup> The name is perhaps an interpolation or due to a misunderstanding here: it makes the subsequent allegory very easy to read.

<sup>69</sup> Heyworth 2015: 146–8.

How often I drunkenly told some tale of love, adapting my individual words to your expression, and informed on myself under an assumed name: in case you don't realize, I was really that lover.

Ovid, *Ep.* 16.243–6

An equivalent marker appears in the Ariadne story at *Fasti* 3.476 *nomine mutato causa relata mea est*: her new tale, in which she walks along the beach complaining that Bacchus has betrayed her, is an allegory of her old tale in which she stood on a beach complaining that Theseus had betrayed her. A similar situation will recur shortly afterwards, with quite different names: Lavinia is the Ariadne made jealous at the arrival of the exotic Anna (= the Indian princess), welcomed into their home by Aeneas (= Bacchus). But underlying these superficial allegories is a more politically engaged one: see 511–12 n. for the ways in which Ariadne/Libera is a version of Livia/Augusta. Numa, as a ruler who encourages respect for the law and stresses the importance of religious observation (277–80), may be read as a figure of Augustus; but the analogy is complicated by the fact that Augustus has been engaged in civil war (282), and himself fills the part of the man whose ferocity is wonderfully transformed at the mere sight of an altar (283–4). More jokily one might wonder whether the laughably swollen face and limp of Silenus (757–8 *turgentiaque ora ... | rident: percusso claudicat ille genu*) evokes a contemporary event or individual, a member of the Claudii perhaps, or Augustus himself (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 80.1 *saepe etiam inclaudicaret*).

#### (f) *Rome, and Other Places*

To its calendar, the *Fasti* adds a topography of Rome: rewriting in Tomi must have been poignant for Ovid.<sup>70</sup> As he describes the position of the temples, he leads the reader around the city, in book 3 to the temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline (245–8), Veiovis on the saddle between the Arx and the Capitol (429–32), Minerva Capta on the Caelian (835–8), Luna on the Aventine (883–4).<sup>71</sup> The Caelian is also the site of the Equirria in time of flood; otherwise the races are held on the Campus Martius, by the Tiber, not far from the celebrations for Anna Perenna (519–24) – topographically as well as temporally adjacent festivals. The Aventine is the place where Numa encounters Picus and Faunus, and

<sup>70</sup> Boyle 2003 gives the fullest account of Ovid's Roman topography (including the other poems: *Arx* 1 and *Tristia* 3.1 are particularly important). Heyworth 2019 considers some significant clusters, as well as issues of conquest, migration – and exile.

<sup>71</sup> Veiovis and Minerva Capta are precisely enough described to be useful to modern scholars attempting to map the monuments of ancient Rome: see Heyworth 2011 for other cases where Ovid's evidence matters.

then Jupiter, whose weighty descent offers an action for the depression in the hill (329–30).

In the first half of the book Rome is a provider of sanctuary, when the exposed twins are succoured by she-wolf and woodpecker, by Larentia and Faustulus (53–6), and when Romulus later establishes the Asylum to attract population to his tiny city (431–4).<sup>72</sup> The second king, Numa, is himself an immigrant (151). When the text heads outside Rome, it does not go beyond Latium and the nearby Paeligni, Ovid's own people (85–96); he writes as though in Rome (10 *huic urbi*, 180 *huius*). Diana's shrine at Nemi helps fulfil the prayers of Rome's women (267–70), and for runaway slaves may provide a temporary kingdom (271–2). The theme continues in the second half, but more uneasily: when Anna seeks refuge, Battus can only provide it temporarily on Malta, and the welcome offered by Aeneas in Latium proves a delusion, thanks to Lavinia's murderous jealousy. The *plebs* are forced out of Rome (*fugit*, 664), and only survive with the help of Anna of Bovillae; still, peace is made and they do return home, honouring their benefactor (673–4) – a wistful couplet for the exiled Ovid. And Phrixus, though saved by the miraculous ram, has to seek a new home on the Black Sea (876), and never returns.

(g) *Women*

Chiu's book makes a good case for the importance of women in Ovid's account of the calendar.<sup>73</sup> Within book 3, Silvia plays a larger part than Mars (9–48 vs 21–2), Hersilia and her fellow women than Romulus and his men (203–30 vs 183–99), even the peace-making Numa depends on Egeria's advice (276, 289–94), and she introduces the stories of his reign (261–76), though they are announced as featuring *caelestia Martis | arma* (259–60). At 393–8 it is the bride to be who is warned to wait to wed, and the Flaminica, not her husband, who symbolizes this delay of marriage. The most extensive action for a star or constellation in the book is that for the Cretan Crown, which inevitably focuses on Ariadne, as the account of the festivities of Anna Perenna concentrates on female protagonists, in the aetia, but also in describing the informal rituals (538, 542, 675–6). Male figures play the major parts in the stories and the rituals of the Liberalia (727–60, 771–90), but even here four couplets, beginning *femina cur praesit* (763), stress female involvement too. On the Quinquatrus girls as well as boys celebrate Minerva (815–20), and so do the sacrifices on the Tubilustria in Ovid's account (850 n.). The name

<sup>72</sup> For Rome as a provider of refuge in Augustan story-telling, see Lee-Stecum 2008.

<sup>73</sup> On book 3 see Chiu 2016: 20–8 (Anna of Bovillae), 72–86 (Anna, Aeneas, Lavinia), 96–9, 102–5.

of Phrixus dominates the tale of Aries (852–76), but Ino, Nephele, and Helle are important too – and they are the ones who achieve immortality as goddesses (Ino as Leucothea: 6.541–50; Nephele as cloud-goddess: 863–6 n.) or as eponym of the Hellespont (870).

## 6. GENRE, STYLE, METRE

### (a) *Generic Complexity*

The *Fasti* is a didactic poem,<sup>74</sup> not of the kind that tells the reader how to become accomplished in an art, as the *Ars Amatoria* does, or Virgil's *Georgics* – Hesiod's *Works & Days* is the fountainhead of this tradition – but rather as a source of information, like Hesiod's *Theogony*,<sup>75</sup> Callimachus' *Aetia*, and Aratus' *Phaenomena*.<sup>76</sup> Ovid follows Callimachus in producing his didactic not in hexameters, as Hesiod had, and most of his followers, but in elegiac couplets, thus maintaining the metre, and in some ways also the genre, of his early, erotic corpus. To this duality of genre is then added a complex of other elements. The first part of an elegiac couplet is a hexameter, and Latin poets like to play with the epic connotations of this, as well as to set their humbler, but more useful genre against the grandeur of epic (e.g. Propertius 1.7, 1.9, 3.3; *Amores* 2.1, 2.12); but the *Fasti* partakes of epic elements in its narratives of travel (3.545–656, 4.455–618) and war (2.193–242; in book 3 only the truncated battles of Romans against Sabines, at 201–26, and gods against titans, at 795–808). Drama has also contributed to the stories (as is made explicit at 4.326 *mira sed et scena testificata loquar*),<sup>77</sup> and some scenes evoke the horror and pity of tragedy (853–68), the humour of comedy or mime (677–94, 737–60),<sup>78</sup> the revelatory excitement of plays on Roman history (329–92). Unlike 2 or 6, there is little in book 3 that calls to mind the style of history, or which seems to depend on a Sallust or a Livy (but see 793–808, 843 nn., index

<sup>74</sup> As is brought out by the prominence of verbs of teaching and learning, e.g. *docere* (3.408, 844), *monere* (261, 313), *erudire* (294, 820), *discere* (177, 313, 436, 768). My judgement thus differs fundamentally from Volk 2002: 42: 'Ovid's *Fasti*, too, cannot be called a didactic poem'.

<sup>75</sup> Ovid refers directly to Hesiod's meeting with the Muses (*Theogony* 21–34) at *Fasti* 6.13–14, and imitates the poem in Polyhymnia's account of Maestas at 5.11–52; Fantham 1985: 267–8.

<sup>76</sup> This simplifies the picture: there is frequent mixing of the two streams, and Ovid will himself guide the reader in becoming a student of *fasti* and a participant in ritual.

<sup>77</sup> A topic explored repeatedly by Wiseman, e.g. 1998: 17–34, 48–51, 64–74; 2008: 210–30. See also Fantham 1983, 1989 on mime.

<sup>78</sup> The commentary discusses the Anna story as mime (604, 643–6); this may set it up in contrast to the more serious pantomime performance her sister's story enjoyed (see the articles by Panayotakis, on Virgil, and Ingleheart, on Ovid, in Hall & Wyles 2008).



s.v. 'Valerius Antias'), but it does contain an epigram (549–50), as well as references to inscriptions (844, perhaps 87).

(b) *Didactic*

The third-century poet Callimachus was important to Latin poets as a central figure in the early decades of the Library of Alexandria, set up by Ptolemy I as a centre to attract the best Greek minds to the new city.<sup>79</sup> He most vividly expressed the aesthetic of the age, conveniently known to Latinists as 'Callimacheanism',<sup>80</sup> this emphasized scholarship, finesse, wit, variety, the small scale. His most substantial and famous poem was the *Aetia*,<sup>81</sup> a lively and learned account of the origins of rites, customs, and cities all over the Greek world and beyond. This typifies a general Alexandrian focus on aetiology, though the mode of explanation can be found already in Homer and tragedy. From the Alexandrian poets it passed to the Romans: Ennius' *Annales* and Virgil's *Aeneid* narrate the origins of Rome and its practices both religious and political.<sup>82</sup> Books 1–2 of the *Aetia* reported a long dream conversation between the poet and the Muses, and thus prepared the way for Ovid's transmission to his readers of information acquired in encounters with deities, e.g. Janus at 1.93–226, Mars at 3.167–258, Erato, speaking on behalf of Cybele, at 4.191–272, the Muses at 5.7–110.<sup>83</sup> Human conversations also play a part in both poems (Miller 1982: 401–4), including a scene at a symposium, *Aet.* fr. 178, which begins (1–4) with a list of Athenian festivals celebrated in Alexandria by the expatriate Pollis.

The genre of the *Aetia* is marked at the start (fr. 2) with reminiscence of Hesiod's own meeting with the Muses, by the spring Hippocrene (456 n.). Callimachus' contemporary, Aratus, makes a similar move in giving an aetiological account of the fountain at *Phaenomena* 216–23.<sup>84</sup> The latter poem, heralded already in its author's own time by three epigrams (*A.P.* 9.25, 9.507; *SH* 712), was very influential in the Roman world: we have substantial parts of translations by Cicero and Germanicus, and five hexameter lines of Ovid's own version (fr. 1, 2), perhaps composed as a trial run for the astronomical passages in the *Fasti*. Aratus gives an account of the night sky (19–461), followed by instruction in how to observe the

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. Erskine 1995.

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. Hunter 2006, esp. 1–6, 141–6.

<sup>81</sup> For the surviving fragments see Harder 2012; 1.27–30 discuss the poem as didactic.

<sup>82</sup> Some prose texts were avowedly aetiological too: Cato's *Origines*, much of Varro's work including *De gente populi Romani*, as well as the histories of Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (writing in Greek in the early Augustan period).

<sup>83</sup> Miller 1982: 409–13 discusses how Ovid exploits this aspect of his model.

<sup>84</sup> See Kidd 1997: 8–10 on the *Phaenomena* as Hesiodic didactic.

passing of the year (462–757) and to predict weather from natural signs (758–1141). Weather signs are not important to Ovid; but he does find in the sequence of risings and settings of the stars the opportunity to describe and to provide aetia for many of the constellations.<sup>85</sup>

As well as describing the sky directly Aratus makes much use of the second person: the reader is told ‘observe’ (σκέπτοιο, 96; 157), ‘you will find’ (δῆεις, 161), and asked ‘do you not see?’ (οὐχ ὁράαις; 733). Ovid takes over this use of address, both in passages on the heavens (*uisus tuos*, 3.406; *suspice*, *uidebis*, 450; *aspicies*, 459) and when telling the reader to observe places (296 *quo posses uiso dicere*, 438 *aspice*) or ceremonies (*spectabis*, 519; 417–22) in Rome. Elsewhere the reader is given a role as student, encouraged to learn (435–6), to do their own research (e.g. 87 *si forte uacas*, *peregrinos inspice fastos*), to use evidence to break down scepticism (135 *neu dubites*); at times the plural is used (370 *credite dicenti*). When specific groups are addressed, there is a mix of plural and collective singular, e.g. in 815–32 the various worshippers of Minerva. Here didactic is combined with ritual instruction (*orate*, 815; *hanc cole*, 821–2; *munera ... referte deae*, 828), as also when the matrons are urged to worship Juno Lucina (253–6 *ferte deae flores ... dicite ... dicite*). Ritual effects, created here by the repetition as well as the content, are also produced by the vocatives directed at deities, in various parts of the long hymn to Bacchus (714–90), but in passing too (*te, Iuppiter ... te*, 327–8; *te ... teque ... Anna*, 659–60). Like imperatives, gerundives are characteristic features of didactic,<sup>86</sup> and book 3 exhibits examples referring both to astronomy (712 *uidendus*, 794) and ritual (881 *adorandus*).

Ovid presents himself as teacher, but also as student: *dic mihi* he says to Mars at 170–1, and Mars replies *disce ... et memori pectore dicta nota* (177–8), and *aspice* (184); but Mars himself has been treated as pupil in 3–10.<sup>87</sup> Numa is likewise a mediator of information, the instructor at 277–84, 349–54, but recipient of instruction at 276, 289–94, 309–24, 333–46. The poet is willing to reveal himself as having a personal history, partly through the recording of conversations (e.g. 4.377–86, 685–90), and partly by remembering his own presence at, and participation in, rituals, leaping across the three rows of bonfires at the Parilia (4.725–8), drinking from the stream at Nemi (3.274), observing the white-clad crowd at the Robigalia (4.905–42) and the less sober pair celebrating Anna Perenna (3.541–2). He also involves the reader by using the first-person plural, whether identifying himself among human kind generally (123

<sup>85</sup> Gee 2000 gives an extended account of Ovid’s use of Aratus.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. *Ars* 1.611 *est tibi agendus amans, imitandaque uulnera uerbis*; 2.717 *non est ueneris properanda uoluptas*; Virgil, *Geo.* 1.178–9, 2.61–2.

<sup>87</sup> On didactic, both from Ovid and interlocutors, see Merli 2000: 78–90 (turning to Mars in 90–5).

*digiti per quos numerare solemus*) or Romans (839–40 *capitale uocamus* | *ingenium sollers*).

(c) *Diction, Rhetoric and Word Order*

Like most didactic works the *Fasti* makes frequent and significant use of **technical vocabulary**.<sup>88</sup> Because it covers three related but separate topics – the calendar, religion, astronomy – it has a particularly wide range. Some of these are introduced immediately in the poem (1.1–62), and so marked as loaded terms, e.g. *tempora*, *dies*, *mensis*; *sacra*,  *festa*,  *arae*,  *signa* ('constellations') and, later, its synonyms.

The **aetiological** approach of the poem has been announced boldly in the first phrase, *Tempora cum causis*: *causa* occurs 78 times in total, including nine in book 3, of which seven point directly to aetiological explanation or narrative. The rarer equivalent *origo* comes only at 433 in book 3, but it does feature two instances of *ratio* in the sense 'explanation' (763, 847). Aetiology also exploits less obviously significant words, e.g. conjunctions and adverbs such as *quia* (85, 735), *quod* (734, 812), *inde* (695), *unde* (118 n., 266), and *nunc*, which makes links between past narrative and present effect: 246, 328, 412 nn.<sup>89</sup>

Conceptually entwined with aetiology is **etymology**, not a precise and factual science for the Romans, but rather a vital and creative art, seen as important for Virgil in late antiquity (Servius, Macrobius), and the key issue in surviving books of Varro's *de Lingua Latina*.<sup>90</sup> For covert etymological plays, see the index s.v. 'etymology'; but many in the *Fasti* are explicit, marked by words such as *nomen* (3.4, 76, 88, 150), *dicere* (75), *uox* (77). Of the fourteen instances of *uocare* in book 3, eleven are directly concerned with naming or describing, but two take us back to sacral language: 392 *Mamuriumque uocant*, 726 *uitisator populos ad sua liba uocet* (also *aduocor*, 174).

Much of the *Fasti* is articulated as replies to **questions** prompted by the calendar, and interrogatives might be added to the list of thematic expressions: *forsitan ipse roges quid sit cum Marte poetae* (3) leads into the long

<sup>88</sup> Or more accurately 'vocabulary used in technical ways': most of the words to be considered are everyday, or standard poetic, Latin.

<sup>89</sup> 'The Latin poets were sparing in their use of parts of speech other than noun, adjectives, and verbs, and were selective in what they did admit. Prepositions, conjunctions, and particles, which took up room in the verse while contributing little to content or emphasis, were often dispensed with.' So Kenney 2002: 41, in his insightful account of Ovidian style – a true and important observation; but the little words can at times be highly significant. On the poem's vivid use of *hic*, *nunc* etc. see Volk 1997: 296–302.

<sup>90</sup> Modern scholars are well equipped to use the approach, thanks to Maltby 1991, O'Hara 1996, Michalopoulos 2001.

explanation of why the first month of the Roman calendar was originally named after Mars; *dic mihi matronae cur tua festa colant* (170) prompts Mars to tell the story of the Sabine Women, and to give other possible causes of the *Matronalia*. A pair of questions at 436 *disce quis iste deus, curue uocetur ita* precedes the brief account of Veiovis. Another question about identity at 543 (who is Anna Perenna?) introduces one long story (545–656), and five briefer alternatives (657–74); and then there is a supplementary question at 675 (why the obscene songs?). Some questions provoke long narrative responses, but other answers are short – at 767 a single line suffices for question and answer (*cur hedera cincta est? hedera est gratissima Baccho*).<sup>91</sup> The variety makes an important contribution to the poem's style, as does the multiplicity of answers in certain cases:<sup>92</sup> cf. 3.123–6, 229–52, 771–88, 839–48, and the famous set of explanations for the rituals of the Parilia (4.783–806). Good rhetoric will convey truth, and so it seems in this case: Beard 1987 argues for multiplicity of explanation as essential to the function of religion in the Roman world. Having claimed that Romulus named the first month of his city's year after his divine father (3–78), Ovid adds that the rest of Latium also worships Mars, and the peoples include a month named after him in their various calendars; Romulus therefore gave first place to Mars 'so that he might beat all these in order at least' (*hos omnes ut uinceret ordine saltem*, 97). Motivation is not necessarily simple, and people may wish to accept a range of different causes.

Not all questions expect answers, however, and Ovid uses **rhetorical questions** to enliven the texture of the *Fasti*: *quis ... nescit?* (53), *quis tunc ... senserat?* (105–10), *quid quod ...?* (235–40), *quid moror ...?* (249). He also draws attention to material deferred or passed over with explicit expressions of *praeteritio*: *non ego te ... taceam* (55–6); *praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos* (697); *nec referam ... longum narrare ... tu quoque ... tacebere* (715–22); 4.573–4.<sup>93</sup> **Repetition** is employed for rhetorical effect, sometimes emphasis (292–3 *tradere ...; nec sine ui tradent*; 307–8 *pugnando uincula temptant | rumpere; pugnantes fortius illa tenent*), sometimes argument (339–40 *caede caput ... caedenda est ... caepa*; 438–9 *fulmina nulla tenet. fulmina post ...*; 840 *ingenium ... ingeniosa*), sometimes ritual (p. 30), sometimes to structure lists<sup>94</sup> of *causae* (123–6, 773–80). Mannered repetition helps introduce conversational exchanges with convenient brevity (e.g. *sic ego. sic ... dixit ... Mauors*, 171; 312), but on other occasions he carefully varies the expression (*dixerat haec Faunus. par est sententia Pici*,

<sup>91</sup> *cur* occurs four times in 763–8; cf. also *quare* (725, 771), *quid* (795), *unde* (408).

<sup>92</sup> There is a good discussion of this in Merli 2000: 95–101, moving on to Mars in particular thereafter.

<sup>93</sup> See further Kyriakidis 2006: 108–10, Geue 2010: 116–18.

<sup>94</sup> For this use of positional patterning in elegy, see Wills 1996: 406–8.

319, e.g.), and the quick exchange at 339–43 uses, in order, *dixit, inquit, addidit, ait, postulat, ait, inquit*. **Priamels** (introductory statements about other things) are used to throw emphasis on the concluding element, as in 81–5, 89–98: in each case Ovid achieves great variety of expression in the initial list.<sup>95</sup> As the combination of two rather different subjects, objects, or instruments (typically one concrete, one metaphorical) with a single verb, **sylllepsis** gains some of its power from brevity. It is a most characteristic element in Ovid's style,<sup>96</sup> found in *Fasti* 3 at e.g. 225 *tela uiris animique cadunt*, 545–6, 549, 601–2 *regno nataque ... auctus*. **Parataxis** is the juxtaposition of logically related clauses without a subordinating conjunction; it is regular in Latin when *ut* is omitted in such expressions as *facito procures* (343; 683); Ovid also introduces hypothetical statements with imperatives, as if they were *si*-clauses (e.g. 450 *suspice: ... uidebis*; 320–1), and places one bald statement after another to indicate causality (287–8, 487–8) or time (357–8).

Word order is used to provide emphasis or contrast, or to enhance meaning.<sup>97</sup> In 177 the sequence *uates operose dierum* ('hard-working poet of the days') evokes Hesiod, origin of didactic and the poet of the *Works & Days*. At 203 the juxtaposition *raptae matrum* brings out the change in status, as the girls who have been seized and raped become mothers and matrons; in verse 226 the placing of *soceri generis* brings together the groups who have been opposed, separated by arms, at 202 *generis intulit arma socer*. In 232 *lacrimis ... suis* encloses the *Martia bella* that the women end with their tears. In 53 *lacte quis infantes nescit creuisse ferino* 'who does not know infants were nourished by milk' awaits the final word ('of a wild beast') to turn the commonplace into the legendary. In 350 the belief that Numa's people find slow to arrive is the last word of the sentence: *tarda uenit dictis difficilisque fides*. Other line-ending words of significance come in 285, 287, 289, where *flammas, ignes, fulmen* bear out the claim that thunderbolts had never fallen more frequently – despite the piety exhibited by Numa, culminating in the *ara* and *focis* of 283–4. A striking device used twice in this passage is the placing of key cognate words at the end of hexameter and pentameter in the same couplet: 265–6 *equorum, equis*; 293–4 *captis, capi. dea est* of Ariadne in 460 contrasts with *uiro* of the ungrateful Theseus at the end of 462.

Not all deviations from normal Latin word order carry significance in poetry. Some disruption is licensed by the demands of metre, in particular by the need to have four short syllables in the second half of the

<sup>95</sup> On Ovid's priamels see Race 1982: 141–7 (not including examples from the *Fasti*).

<sup>96</sup> Kenney 2002: 45–7; Myers 2009: 22.

<sup>97</sup> On more complex instances of hyperbaton, see 383–4, 795 nn.; 37 n. on enclosed apposition.

pentameter (*que* is therefore commonly delayed to come here: 16 n.) and by the desire (especially strong in Ovid) to open lines with a dactyl. In particular *Fasti* 3 regularly has postponed conjunctions, relatives, and interrogatives, including the following instances of postponement to third or later position: *cum* (353), *cur* (768), *dum* (200, 604), *ne* (176), *qua* (835), *quam* (514), *quam!* (434), *qui* (518, 827), *quin* (135), *quisquis* (150), *si* (336, 447, 521), *ubi* (399 [6th], 879), *ut* (97, 141). Postponement may have other functions too: thus in 71 *modo* is emphasized in contrast to *iam*, and in 323 *emissi laqueis* comes logically, if not grammatically, before *quid agant*.

#### (d) Narrative

Much of the *Fasti* is taken up with story-telling.<sup>98</sup> The first narrative of book 3 may illustrate Ovid's handling of a number of key aspects: expectation, character, voice, time, place, pace, repetition, focalization, prolepsis, order. The real goal of the narrative is to explain why March is called after Mars (4, 75–8), but the play on *inermis* (8–9) suggests that what follows may simply be here to convince the god that he can achieve something while disarmed. Two of the main characters have been introduced in the preparatory lines: Mars and the Vestal Virgin, Silvia, whose name begins the narrative proper in 11. The opening is marked by a typically Ovidian parenthesis commenting on the choice of starting point (*quid enim uetat inde moueri?*). The tale begins *in mediis rebus*, with Silvia already close to the water she needs for her ritual duties (*uentum erat*, 13). Often Ovid stops the narrative to give a vivid description of the place where action will happen through a formal ecphrasis;<sup>99</sup> here there is a gradual revelation of the *locus amoenus* that induces the tired Vestal to sleep: a gently sloping bank, a breeze, willows casting shadows, bird-song, and the murmur of the rippling stream (13–18). Mars' part in the tale is done by contrast in a single couplet, brevity and repetition used to express the aggressive momentum of his rape: *Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita* (21). The pace slows again as Silvia wakes up, feeling heavy (*grauis*, 23: an obvious focalization), and languidly relives her dream (23–38). The dream, of two palm trees (i.e. the twins she will bear) growing from her fallen fillet, is proleptic and disorderly, foreseeing first Rome's domination of the world (33–4), and then the attack on them by her uncle and the succour provided by woodpecker and she-wolf (35–8; cf. 49–54). Twice parentheses take us back in time: the pluperfect *implerat* (40) explains how the urn

<sup>98</sup> In his monograph on the topic Murgatroyd calculates nearly 47% (2005: 2; but he excludes stories allocated ten lines or fewer).

<sup>99</sup> E.g. 3.263–74, 295–304; more briefly 567–8, 581–2.

suddenly comes to be full of water;<sup>100</sup> verse 50 supplies information about Amulius' earlier wickedness in seizing his brother's kingdom. At 41–4 the narrative quickens: two couplets describe the whole period of pregnancy, until, with utter simplicity, 'Silvia becomes a mother' (*Silvia fit mater*, 45). Then the narrative might stop, as again after the marked change of focus in 53–8; but the consequences of the rape continue. A further sixteen years have passed by the time we reach verse 59, and it is time for Amulius to pay for his crimes, Rome to be founded, and the etymology of *Martius* to be fulfilled. Throughout the narrator's voice keeps on intruding:<sup>101</sup> to explain that Silvia would feel heavy with the weight of Romulus inside – 'obviously' (*scilicet*, 23); to reveal that part of the tale will be told only in December (55–8); to add the laughable understatement that it was not useful (*expediit*, 70) for Remus to have leapt over the city's walls.

#### (e) *Metre and Versification*

The elegiac couplet consists of a hexameter followed by a pentameter (1–2):

Bēllīcē,| dēpōsī|tīs // clīpē|ō pāu|lispēr ēt| hāstā,  
Mārs, ādēs| ēt nī|tī|dās // cāsīdē| sōluē cō|mās.

The **hexameter** consists of six feet, the first five of them basically dactylic in pattern (– ∪ ∪). A spondee (– –) may be substituted for a dactyl in any of the first four feet; the fifth foot is nearly always a dactyl and the sixth foot is always a spondee or trochee (– ∪). *Fasti* 3 contains one hexameter with a fifth-foot spondee (often called a '**spondeiazon**'), ending *Plā dās Ātlāntēās* (105); as always in elegiacs the fifth-foot spondee is preceded by a dactyl in the fourth foot, and as often the phrasing involves Greek diction. There is usually a strong caesura (literally 'a cutting'), a break between words, here marked //, after the first long syllable of the foot, in the middle of the third foot. The **pentameter** consists of the first two and a half feet of a hexameter (i.e. as far as the third-foot caesura), followed by the same again, but without variation in the second half of the line, which always contains two dactyls. As in the hexameter the final syllable can be long or short. Platnauer 1951 offers a helpful account of how elegiacs are composed by Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius; see also Thorsen 2013, and McKeown 1987: 108–23 on the *Amores*.

As has been said, in the hexameter the main **caesura** nearly always comes after the first syllable of the third foot (3s: s = 'strong', as opposed

<sup>100</sup> An 'impish parenthesis' – 'just in case you thought I'd forgotten!': Kenney 2002: 53.

<sup>101</sup> Note also *feruntur*, 45; *certe*, 47.

to w = 'weak', where the caesura follows a short syllable). Where this is missing, Ovid usually has a caesura at 2s, 3w, and 4s (29 cases in *Fasti* 3). Verses 191 and 585 have 2s, 4s without a true caesura in the third foot, as the conjunction *et* strictly belongs with what follows. There is one verse where the only strong caesura is in the second foot: 863 has 2s, 3w, and no caesura at all in the second half of the line (Platnauer 1951: 9).

In the pentameter there is a word break at the half-way point.

Ovid is very sparing with **elision**, and rarely elides a long vowel: by my count there are in the whole book 44 **prodelisions** (i.e. places where *est* loses its opening vowel), 38 elisions of *-que* (whether the copula or in compounds), six of *ante*, and seventeen of short vowels in other words.<sup>102</sup> Syllables ending in *-m* are elided fifteen times; the only long vowels elided are in *ergo* (119, 787),<sup>103</sup> *animū indociles* (119), *primō et* (585), and *factā ex* (805). Elisions are found rarely or not at all in certain places in the second half of both lines: see Platnauer 1951: 84–6 on hexameters and 88–90 on pentameters (in *Fasti* 3 the only elisions in the second half of a pentameter come in 440 *tempore inermis* and 472 *accipe, harena*).

In *Fasti* 3 the only examples of **hiatus** (the 'gaping' between two adjacent vowels when there is no elision) come after exclamations: 477, 485.

Though spondees may freely be used as the alternative to dactyls in the first four feet of the hexameter and the first two feet of the pentameter, at the **start of the line** Ovid prefers a dactyl. In particular he generally avoids opening the line, especially the hexameter, with a spondaic word. These are the counter-examples in book 3: 32,<sup>104</sup> 76, 93, 101, 116, 244, 448, 454, 467, 668, 758, 818 (contrast Catullus, who has 17 instances in the 325 extant verses of 65–8, and Propertius 1, which has 31 in 700 lines). The start of 206 shows how he is willing to change the normal word order: *quās intēr mēā* (where *intēr quās mēā* would scan the same). Verses 841–5 illustrate both variety of diction and the preference for an opening dactyl: *ān quā de ...* | *ān quā perdomitis ...* | *ān quōd hābet*; similar are 123–5, 231–3.

The **final word of the hexameter** is almost always trisyllabic or disyllabic, or occasionally two monosyllables together, as at 195 *at quae*, 491 *ne te*, 777 *per te*. (Prodelided *est*, and *es*, may be added to the final word, as at 281.) The major group of exceptions involve four- or five-syllable Greek

<sup>102</sup> The figures given for various elegiac books by McKeown 1987: 114 suggest that Ovid is slightly freer here than in the *Amores*, at least with elisions of short vowels and *-m*.

<sup>103</sup> Of the 98 instances in Ovid, 64 are elided, in 31 the *-o* is long, in three it is indeterminate; *ergō* is thus one of the signs that *Ep.* 5.59–60 is interpolated.

<sup>104</sup> Both *surgunt* in 32 and *rident* in 758 are followed by strong punctuation; according to Platnauer 1951: 23 the arrangement is found only eleven times in Ovid's pentameters.



words or other manifestations of Greek rhythm: thus the one example in book 3 is the *spondeiazon* 105.

In books published before his exile Ovid never has non-disyllabic words at **the end of the pentameter**; and this is the norm in the *Fasti* too (but see p. 11 on 5.582, 6.660). (Prodelided *est* and *es* are freely added to the final word, as at 814; 4.456.) The final word of the pentameter is usually a noun or verb; otherwise mainly a possessive (*suus* etc.), pronoun (*ego* at 190, *tibi* at 514, 774), or numeral (*duos* at 152, 430, 602, 868, *trium* at 802, *nouem* at 516; and the numeral adverbs *semel* at 480, *quater* at 880); parts of *nouus* appear twice (138, 830), other adjectives when predicative or otherwise emphatic (208 *pie*; 264 *sacer*; 750 *cauis*), the adverb *ita* at 436.<sup>105</sup>

Both in hexameters and in pentameters Ovid, like the other elegists, freely uses **internal rhyme** between the pre-caesural word (usually an adjective) and the final word of the line (usually a noun). Normally the words are in agreement, e.g. at 449–50:

iāmqu(e) ūbī cāērūlēūm // uāriābūnt sīdērā cāēlūm,  
sūsūpīcē: Gōrgōnēi // cōllā uīdēbīs ēquī.

The next two verses follow suit (*caesae ... Medusae, respersis ... iubis*, 451–2). Less common is when the rhyming words are in parallel, as at 487:

Thēsēā cūlpābās // fāllācēmqu(e) īpsē uōcābās.

Metrical flexibility is provided by **alternative forms**. For passive and deponent forms of the second person singular indicative in *Fasti* 3 Ovid has *diceris* (504), *coleris* (679), *uideris* (773), but *tacebere* (721). For the third person plural of the perfect indicative active there are seven cases of *-ēnūt*; fifteen of *-ērē*; and two of *-ēnūt* (65 *audiērunt*; 860 *compulērunt*). The form *-ērunt* is often corrupted by scribes into the pluperfect *-ērant* (or future perfect *-ērint*), as has happened in both these cases. Syncopation is used to shorten other forms in the perfect system: *habitasse* 191; *amasse* 410; *mutarat* 461; *seruasset* 573; *placarit* 816. Some forms are normal for Ovid though not for Latin universally, e.g. *rediūt* (333), *abiūt* (474), *putō* (493), *audibat* (507; cf. 4.795 *feribant*). He uses *herē* mid line (852), but *heri* at the end of the pentameter (2.76), and varies the scansion of oblique cases of words such as *ager* and *sacer* according to need: thus *āgros* (606) against *āgros*, *āgris* (649, 779; 655); and *sācros* (30) against *sācra* etc. (12, and often). Ovid also makes use of the **collective singular** (93, 95), and **poetic plurals** (4 n.). Proper names and other nouns are sometimes put in the **vocative**, partly for reasons of metrical convenience, especially in the second half of the pentameter (e.g. 56, 90, 95, 140, 148).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Platnauer 1951: 40–8.

The one anomalous piece of scansion comes in 105, where the final *a* of the Greek accusative plural *Hyadas* should be short, as the equivalent ending is in *Plĩādās* later in the line:

quĩs tũnc āut Hỹādās āut Plĩādās Ātlāntēās  
sēnsērāt, āut gēmĩnōs ēssē sũb āxē pōlōs

Clearly a long syllable is required; Ovid reprises, but changes, the anomaly from Virgil, *Geo.* 1.138 *Plēĩādās*, *Hyadas*, *claramque Lycaonis Arcton*.

The **shaping of the couplet** is handled with variety and elegance. Short sentences often stand in parallel, structure being provided by anaphora, polyptoton, or antithesis and ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction (= ‘in common’), as in 499–500:

ceperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri,  
me tua; at hic laudi est, ille pudendus amor.

The phrasing encourages the reader to supply *ceperunt cornua* with *me tua*; and in the later part of the pentameter *amor* with *hic*, and *est* with *pudendus*, which is matched up with *laudi*. Here the major break in sense happens early in the pentameter; but sometimes Ovid begins the new clause at the end of the hexameter: 155, 491, 555. Each is used to fine effect: see 352, 414, 793 nn. on **enjambment**, 155 n. on **counter-enjambment**. Verses 563–4 form a tricolon, with the first pair joined by anaphora, the second of the three clauses spilling over into the pentameter, and the third providing a sense of climax:

terque uale dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos  
pressit, et est illi uisa subesse soror.

At other times the hexameter has a single clause of which the pentameter is then a restatement or variant, e.g. 557–8, and 159–60:

promissumque sibi uoluit praenosceret caelum  
nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos.

where the double negative *nec ignotas* matches *praenosceret* in the hexameter.<sup>106</sup> Occasionally a couplet is split into four balanced units, e.g. 453–4, with chiasmus in both verses:

huic supra nubes et subter sidera lapso  
caelum pro terra, pro pede pinna fuit;

<sup>106</sup> On ‘theme and variation’ in Ovid’s couplets, see Kenney 2002: 49–50.

and 623–4, constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in both lines, and with the references to Anna, in the first half of each line, subordinated to Dido, in the second half:

multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae:  
nomine grata tuo, grata sororis eris.

More rarely the couplet may be made up of four separate, if related, sentences (437–8):

Iuppiter est iuuenis: iuuenales aspice uultus;  
aspice deinde manum: fulmina nulla tenet.<sup>107</sup>

The content here is strikingly elegiac too, beginning with the epic figure of Jupiter, but disarming him in the pentameter. A similar effect is achieved by 5–6: hexameter war set against Minerva's concern for the noble arts of peace:

ipse uidēs manibus peragi fera bella Mineruae:  
num minus ingenuis artibus illa uacat?

For the so-called '**golden line**',<sup>108</sup> see 519 n.; 240 is another example.

The **elegiac couplet** is normally end-stopped in Latin, and this remains true even in narrative passages in the *Fasti*, e.g. the 21 separated couplets at the start of Mars' reply to Ovid (173–214). When a sentence is continued in a second couplet, the link is usually provided by a copula (*et*, *-que*: 109, 129, 221, 227, e.g.), anaphora (107, 125), or the like, less often by a subordinating conjunction (e.g. *quia* in 121–4; *si* 167–70; *iam ... cum* 215–18; *ubi* 415–18, 517–20). Direct speech sometimes complicates the structure: thus 319 looks back to Faunus' response to Numa; 320 moves on to Picus' words, which continue in 321–2. A particularly extended sentence occurs at 773–88, with complicated changes of structure, including a *quia* clause at 779–86, enclosing a *cum* clause in 779–82, and a parenthesis in 784–6, and ended by a resumptive *ergo* in 787. Two cases where there is a pause in the course of a couplet stronger than between the couplets come at 323–6, 705–8, with striking **enjambments** in 325 and 707.

One little-noticed feature of elegy is the **repetition of words in adjacent couplets**: there can be a subtle binding effect when a word from the hexameter of one couplet is repeated in the pentameter of the next.<sup>109</sup> There is a run of cases in Ovid's account of the Liberalia, e.g., reinforced by some other repetitions:

ut satyri leuisque **senex** tetigere saporem,                      745  
quaerebant flauos per nemus omne fauos.

<sup>107</sup> *Fasti* 5.201–2 is a more extreme example.

<sup>108</sup> Wilkinson 1963: 215–16.

<sup>109</sup> For further examples see Heyworth 2007: 281 on Propertius 3.1.3–6.

audit in exesa stridorem examinis **ulmo**,  
 aspicit et ceras dissimulatque **senex**;  
 utque piger pandi tergo residebat aselli,  
 applicat hunc **ulmo** corticibusque cauis. 750  
 constitit ipse super ramoso stipite nixus  
 atque auide trunco condita mella petit.  
 milia crabronum coeunt et uertice nudo  
 spicula defigunt **ora**que sima notant.  
**ille** cadit praeceps et calce feritur aselli, 755  
 inclamatque suos auxiliumque rogat.  
 concurrunt satyri turgentiaque **ora** parentis  
rident: percusso claudicat **ille** genu.<sup>110</sup>  
ridet et ipse deus, limumque inducere monstrat;  
 hic paret monitis et linit **ora** luto. 760

Unlike the anaphora *rident* ... *ridet*, none of the words in bold is emphasized. *ille* in 758 simply returns to Silenus as subject after *satyri* in 757; but the echoing combination *ille cadit* ... *claudicat ille* typifies the sequence of action and result that these repetitions help to express. Some other examples: 487–90 n., 769 *puerum*, 772 *pueris* (leading into 773 *puer*, 775 *natos*); 803, 806 *flammi*s; 809 *dies*... *Mineruae*, 812 *Minerua die*, 855, 858 *sorte*. Continuity of narrative seems to be the effect when a word recurs in the text but one hexameter, e.g. 599 *litus*, 603 *litore*; 603 *Achate*, 607 *Achates*; 765 *quaeris*, 769 *quaerente*; 799 *taurus*, 803 *tauri*.

(f) *Elegy (and Epic): Discontinuity and Humour*

Ovid's choice of elegiacs is a striking one in a narrative poem ('not on the face of it ideally suited to continuous story-telling', Kenney 2002: 50): contrast the hexameters of the *Metamorphoses*, which regularly run on.<sup>111</sup> The choice of metre is clearly deliberate, and part of a wider pursuit of discontinuity in the abruptly unfinished poem: *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* share much (Section 2), but the narrative flow is ongoing in the latter, and persistently broken in the former, between books, days, stories, and couplets.<sup>112</sup> Ovid, in choosing the intensely political subject matter of the calendar, was determined to create an image of the varied reality of

<sup>110</sup> There is perhaps some self-referential humour in this couplet: the hexameter is swollen (*turgentia*), the pentameter limps (*claudicat*).

<sup>111</sup> The difference is enhanced by the contrast between the hexameter's end, where ictus and accent coincide (i.e. metrical rhythm and syllable stress align), and the iambic close of Ovid's pentameter, where they necessarily clash.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Newlands 2000: 171–7; Heyworth 2018a: 114–16. Gee 2000 (as summarized on 5–8) adds to the case the significant difference from the universalizing stoicism of Aratus' *Phaenomena*.

the Roman year. When he describes the day on which Augustus became Pontifex Maximus (3.415–28), it is as just one of seven separable passages in 66 lines, sandwiched between Ampelos, beloved of Bacchus, and Veiovis, a junior form of Jupiter. The honorific election of Augustus, which in other hands might have provided a significant climax, here leads out of nothing and into nothing.

*Fasti* 3 gives little space to war, but scarcely more to elegiac love: Mars is seen twice as a lover, but his behaviour is far from that of an elegist both in the haste of 21–2,<sup>113</sup> and the farce of 677–96. However, Ariadne has a speech at 471–506 that has much of the style and content of an elegy. The speech alludes to two passages in Ovid's earlier elegies (*Ep.* 10, *Ars* 1.525–64), as well as the pathetic soliloquy in the hexameters of Catullus 64. It is scattered with exclamations<sup>114</sup> and charges of betrayal, together with vocabulary such as *lacrimae* (472, 482; cf. 463, 469, 509), *querela* (471; cf. 507), *torus* (484; cf. 463, 511), *fides* (485, 497), and imagery of fire (502–4). Like an elegiac mistress, Ariadne seeks promised gifts (505–6). The lightness of elegy is evoked in 481–2 *Bacche levis leuiorque tuis ... frondibus* (cf. 456 n.). Though Bacchus is fickle, generically he has become anything but light, having gained military victory over the Indians and returned rich from the East (465–6) – it is perhaps not surprising that he is found to be a traitor to love.

In general, it is not erotic subject matter that marks the *Fasti* as elegiac, but metre (of course), style, and awareness of genre, in particular the repeated emphasis that this is not epic: cf. 2.125–6 (introducing the lines on Augustus as *pater patriae*):

quid uolui demens elegis imponere tantum  
ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis.

Why did I madly seek to place so great a weight on elegiac couplets?  
This was the business for a heroic foot [i.e. hexameters].

Book 3 thus starts with Mars being asked to disarm so that he is suited to inspiring poetry, and poetry that is concerned with the calendar, not war. Though his response is slow and half-hearted (171–4 nn.), his narrative, on the war between the Romans and the Sabines after the rape of the Sabines' daughters, leads to the ending of the conflict – in this story no blood is spilt (197–232). Thereafter the book (or the poet) repeatedly turns away from narratives of war (259–84, 437–44, 577–80, 697, 719–20,

<sup>113</sup> No *mora* in this *amor*: cf. 175, 204, 408, 686 nn. On *mora* in the poem generally, see Geue 2010.

<sup>114</sup> *en* (470–1), *o utinam* (477), *heu* (485), *me miseram* (486), *ei mihi* (506): all bar the first are markedly elegiac.

796–808, 811–34).<sup>115</sup> When the priesthood at Nemi is briefly presented as the reign of an epic hero (271), it is quickly followed by the elegiac climax of the ecphrasis, Egeria's little stream that flows with an irregular noise, from which the poet has often drunk with small sips (273–5). Numa persuades the Romans to give up war (277–84), but he then finds himself having to deal with thunder, another manifestation of power and violence, and a symbol of epic for the Augustan poets (285–8 n.). This involves drawing Jupiter down<sup>116</sup> from heaven, but an encounter that starts with the weight of the god depressing the surface of the Aventine (329–30) culminates in the comic exchange of 339–44, in which Numa persuades the god to accept the sacrifice not of a human life, but of an onion, human hair, and a fish. Within this passage, there is a strikingly epic pentameter (334):

ut rediit animus, da certa piamina, dixit,  
fulminis, altorum rexque paterque deum.

The formal vocative is grand in style (with the Homeric<sup>117</sup> and Ennian<sup>118</sup> *-que ...-que*) and content (*altorum* 'lofty' elevates the gods more than usual in such phrasing). However, what is sought is not a *fulmen*, but *piamina fulminis*, and the attenuation of the sublime quickly leads to laughter (*risit*, 343): Jupiter reacts to Numa like Cupid to Ovid at *Amores* 1.1.3 (p. 1).<sup>119</sup> Humour can be found regularly in the book, in the notion that the Roman *ars* was throwing the javelin (103–4), in the apparently inconsequential reference to the Flaminica in 397–8, in the obviousness of the names of the two Fish ('Northerly' and 'Southerly', called after winds: 401–2), in the extended non-hymn with which Bacchus is praised (715–24), leading to the double anticlimax of 723–6:

ecce libet subitos pisces Tyrrhenaque monstra  
dicere; sed non est carminis huius opus:  
carminis huius opus causas exponere quare  
utisator populos ad sua liba uocet.

Ovid wants to tell the story of the transformation of the Etruscan pirates; but the tale told here will not in fact be that; the tale told in the *Fasti* will explain why – wait for a second underwhelming pentameter – the father of the vine has *liba* at his ceremony.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>115</sup> See Hinds 1992, especially 87–111.

<sup>116</sup> On *deducere* see 151, 321 nn.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. e.g. *Iliad* 1.544 πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

<sup>118</sup> See Skutsch on Ennius, *Ann.* 171, 591 *diuomque hominumque pater, rex*, 592 *patrem diuomque hominumque*; and Bömer on *Met.* 2.848 for Ovidian versions. Virgil has e.g. *Aen.* 1.254 *olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum*.

<sup>119</sup> And again at *Am.* 1.6.11, 2.18.15; cf. Elegia at *Am.* 3.1.33, the potential mistress at 3.2.83, Venus at *Fasti* 4.5 for *ridere* expressing an elegiac reaction to Ovid.

<sup>120</sup> There is considerable play between elegy and epic in the story of Anna: see Heyworth 2018b: 276–87.

## 7. TEXT

The text of the *Fasti* has a strong medieval tradition, with MSS written in a range of countries between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. Despite its exposition of ‘pagan’ ritual the poem was important for readers, as the source of information about the calendar, Rome, and myth. This popularity led to the frequent addition of glosses and the substitution of synonyms: editors often have to choose between two or more plausible variants (in the list below, see e.g. 93, 294, 321, 348, 466, 524, 647, 674, 735, 813, 846). However, the transmission from antiquity certainly passed through an archetype, and the text that was available in the tenth century had already been corrupted during the centuries of copying (if not as badly as Ovid’s *Heroides*).

The standard edition is the Teubner (Alton, Wormell & Courtney 1978, abbreviated as ‘A-W-C’ in the commentary). This provides a sensible text (if one that too often favours the reading of the oldest MS A), but it has an inadequate apparatus criticus (see Hall 1982), and some attractive readings from medieval MSS are not reported. The text printed in this book is based on independent collation of the three oldest manuscripts AUG,<sup>121</sup> and a selection of others, mainly from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Because this work is in progress, no apparatus is provided here; a full account will be given in a future Oxford Classical Text.

The following table records places where the text printed differs from A-W-C. Where readings are drawn from a manuscript, no detail is given except where there is no note in the Teubner apparatus. Conjectures are attributed to the author; references may be found in the relevant note.

verse	Teubner	Heyworth
7	Palladis	Pallados [‘Gottorp.’ Burman]
93	acer	asper
115	<e> faeno	faeni [ <i>Kenney</i> ]
164	a [ <i>a slip?</i> ]	e
	quinta	quarta
195	extremis	externis [ <i>Munich Staatsbib. Lat. 8122</i> ]
229	†diem quae prima† meas	diem quae prima mea est [ <i>Rappold</i> ]

<sup>121</sup> A = Vatican Reg. Lat. 1709 (tenth century, N. France; images available via DigiVatLib); U = Vatican, Vat. Lat. 3262 (eleventh century, Montecassino; images available via DigiVatLib); G = Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale MS 5369–5373 (eleventh century, N. France/Belgium). There is also the tenth-century fragmentum Ilfeldense (I), which contains the start of book 3; this is now in the Bodmer collection (Lat. 123).

(cont.)

verse	Teubner	Heyworth
	Kalendas	quotannis [ <i>Watt</i> ]
239	se qua	qua se [ <i>Heyworth</i> ]
251	nuptas	matres [ <i>Heyworth</i> ]
	matris [ <i>Heinsius</i> ]	matrum
291	sed	nam [ <i>Heyworth</i> ]
292	utrumque	uterque
294	edidit	erudit
301	disponit	dis ponit
316	tecta	regna [ <i>Milan Ambros. N 265 sup.</i> ]
321	perductus	deductus
348	destituit	deseruit
363	atque	aque
399	ortus	ignes <sup>122</sup>
411	frondibus	e frondibus
466	uicit	uincit
524	non	haud
557-8	<i>before</i> 559	<i>before</i> 575 [ <i>Murgia</i> ]
564	illis	illi
608	suos	suum [ <i>Castiglioni</i> ]
619	corpore	pectore
643	†super ausa†	suspensa [ <i>Delz</i> ]
645	cum	qua
647	cupidis	tumidis
656	se	rem [ <i>Merkel</i> ]
673	Perennae	perenne
674	ferebat	tulisset
693	carae	canae
715	ad quam nisi fulmina secum	quacum nisi tela secunda [ <i>Heyworth</i> ]

<sup>122</sup> The reading of Vat. Lat. 3265 (a twelfth-century copy), as well as the second hand in A, which supplies lines originally omitted; and a supralineal gloss in Oxford Bodley Auct. F.4.29.



verse	Teubner	Heyworth
716	†paruus inermis eras†	tu periturus eras [ <i>Heyworth</i> ]
735	idem	ille
766	†haec erat et†	cratera et [ <i>Alton</i> ]
787	possit	posset
810	nomina quae	nominaque a
813	rasa	strata
818	discant	discent
829	fere	breui [ <i>Heinsius</i> ]
844	? et hoc ....	ut in ...? [ <i>Watt</i> ]
846	recepta	reperta
870	cum	quae

Book 3 seems to be the best preserved of the books of the *Fasti*, and there are only half a dozen places where A-W-C and I agree in accepting a conjecture (124 *quinto* Madvig; 200 *canet* Gronovius; 500 *tua*; *at hic laudi est* Heinsius; 517 *demerserit* Heinsius; 659 *Azanida* Alton; 754 *sima* Rubenius). My policy has been to print a conjecture rather than to use the obelus (†) to mark the most difficult cruces.

An additional difference is that the text printed here does not use inverted commas.<sup>123</sup> These are a modern invention, and though they can be useful to the reader, they distort Ovid's text (39, 253–8, 703–8 nn.) and can be awkward to apply (thus the Teubner omits them at 4.598 *'n'ec gener est nobis ille pudendus' ait*).

<sup>123</sup> See Feeney 2011 for general discussion.



P. OVIDI NASONIS FASTORVM  
LIBER TERTIVS



P. OVIDI NASONIS FASTORVM  
LIBER TERTIVS

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Bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta,  
Mars, ades et nitidas casside solue comas.  
forsitan ipse roges quid sit cum Marte poetae?  
a te qui canitur nomina mensis habet.  
ipse uides manibus peragi fera bella Mineruae: 5  
num minus ingenuis artibus illa uacat?  
Pallados exemplo ponendae tempora sume  
cuspidis: inuenies et quod inermis agas.  
tum quoque inermis eras, cum te Romana sacerdos  
cepit, ut huic urbi semina magna dares. 10  
Siluia Vestalis (quid enim uetat inde moueri?)  
sacra lauaturas mane petebat aquas.  
uentum erat ad molli decliuem tramite ripam;  
ponitur e summa fictilis urna coma;  
fessa resedit humo, uentosque accepit aperto 15  
pectore, turbatas restituitque comas.  
dum sedet, umbrosae salices uolucresque canorae  
fecerunt somnos et leue murmur aquae;  
blanda quies furtim uictis obrepsit ocellis  
et cadit a mento languida facta manus. 20  
Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita  
et sua diuina furta fefellit ope.  
somnus abit; iacet ipsa grauis: iam scilicet intra  
uiscera Romanae conditor urbis erat.  
languida consurgit, nec scit cur languida surgat, 25  
et peragit tales arbore nixa sonos:  
utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni  
uidimus. an somno clarius illud erat?

ignibus Iliacis aderam cum lapsa capillis  
 decidit ante sacros lanea uitta focos. 30  
 inde duae pariter, uisu mirabile, palmae  
 surgunt; ex illis altera maior erat  
 et grauibus ramis totum protexerat orbem  
 contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.  
 ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas. 35  
 terreor admonitu corque timore micat.  
 Martia, picus, auis gemino pro stipite pugnant  
 et lupa: tuta per hos utraque palma fuit.  
 dixerat, et plenam non firmis uiribus urnam  
 sustulit: implerat dum sua uisa refert. 40  
 interea crescente Remo, crescente Quirino,  
 caelesti tumidus pondere uenter erat.  
 quominus emeritis exiret cursibus annus  
 restabant nitido iam duo signa deo:  
 Siluia fit mater; Vestae simulacra feruntur 45  
 uirgineas oculis opposuisse manus.  
 ara deae certe tremuit pariente ministra  
 et subiit cineres territa flamma suos.  
 hoc ubi cognouit contemptor Amulius aequi  
 (nam raptas fratri uictor habebat opes), 50  
 amne iubet mergi geminos. scelus unda refugit;  
 in sicca pueri destituuntur humo.  
 lacte quis infantes nescit creuisse ferino,  
 et picum expositis saepe tulisse cibos?  
 non ego te, tantae nutrix Larentia gentis, 55  
 nec taceam uestras, Faustule pauper, opes –  
 uester honos ueniet cum Larentalia dicam:  
 acceptus geniis illa December habet.  
 Martia ter senos proles adoleuerat annos  
 et suberat flauae iam noua barba comae; 60  
 omnibus agricolis armentorumque magistris  
 Iliadae fratres iura petita dabant.  
 saepe domum ueniunt praedonum sanguine laeti  
 et redigunt actos in sua rura boues.

ut genus audierunt, animos pater editus auget 65  
 et pudet in paucis nomen habere casis,  
 Romuleoque cadit traiectus Amulius ense  
 regnaque longaeuo restituuntur auo.  
 moenia conduntur quae, quamuis parua fuerunt,  
 non tamen expediit transiluisse Remo. 70  
 iam modo quae fuerant siluae pecorumque recessus  
 urbs erat, aeternae cum pater urbis ait:  
 arbiter armorum, de cuius sanguine natus  
 credor et, ut credar, pignora multa dabo,  
 a te principium Romano dicimus anno: 75  
 primus de patrio nomine mensis erit.  
 uox rata fit patrioque uocat de nomine mensem:  
 dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo.  
 et tamen ante omnes Martem coluere priores:  
 hoc dederat studiis bellica turba suis. 80  
 Pallada Cecropidae, Minoia Creta Dianam,  
 Vulcanum tellus Hypsipylaea colit,  
 Iunonem Sparte Pelopeïadesque Mycenae,  
 pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput;  
 Mars Latio uenerandus erat, quia praesidet armis; 85  
 arma ferae genti remque decusque dabant.  
 quod si forte uacas, peregrinos inspice fastos:  
 mensis in his etiam nomine Martis erit.  
 tertius Albanis, quintus fuit ille Faliscis,  
 sextus apud populos, Hernica terra, tuos; 90  
 inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constat  
 factaque Telegoni moenia celsa manu;  
 quintum Laurentes, bis quintum Aequiculus asper,  
 a tribus hunc primum turba Curensis habet;  
 et tibi cum proauis, miles Paeligne, Sabinis 95  
 conuenit; huic genti quartus utrique deus.  
 Romulus, hos omnes ut uinceret ordine saltem,  
 sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit.  
 nec totidem ueteres quot nunc habuere Kalendas:  
 ille minor geminis mensibus annus erat. 100

nondum tradiderat uictas uictoribus artes  
 Graecia, facundum sed male forte genus.  
 qui bene pugnabat Romanam nouerat artem;  
 mittere qui poterat pila disertus erat.  
 quis tunc aut Hyadas aut Pliadas Atlanteas 105  
 senserat, aut geminos esse sub axe polos,  
 esse duas Arctos, quarum Cynosura petatur  
 Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet,  
 signaque quae longo frater percenseat anno  
 ire per haec uno mense sororis equos? 110  
 libera currebant et inobseruata per annum  
 sidera; constabat sed tamen esse deos.  
 non illi caelo labentia signa tenebant,  
 sed sua, quae magnum perdere crimen erat.  
 illa quidem faeni, sed erat reuerentia faeno 115  
 quantam nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas.  
 pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos,  
 unde manipularis nomina miles habet.  
 ergo animi indociles et adhuc ratione carentes  
 mensibus egerunt lustra minora decem. 120  
 annus erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem:  
 hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,  
 seu quia tot digiti, per quos numerare solemus,  
 seu quia bis quinto femina mense parit,  
 seu quod adusque decem numero crescente uenitur; 125  
 principium spatiis sumitur inde nouis.  
 inde patres centum denos secreuit in orbes  
 Romulus, hastatos instituitque decem,  
 et totidem princeps, totidem pilanus habebat  
 corpora, legitimo quique merebat equo. 130  
 quin etiam partes totidem Titiensibus ille,  
 quosque uocant Ramnes, Luceribusque dedit.  
 aduetos igitur numeros seruauit in anno;  
 hoc luget spatio femina maesta uirum.  
 neu dubites primae fuerint quin ante Kalendae 135  
 Martis, ad haec animum signa referre potes.



laurea flaminibus quae toto perstitit anno  
 tollitur et frondes sunt in honore nouae;  
 ianua tum regis posita uiret arbore Phoebi;  
 ante tuas fit idem, Curia prisca, fores. 140  
 Vesta quoque ut folio niteat uelata recenti,  
 cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focus;  
 adde quod arcana fieri nouus ignis in aede  
 dicitur, et uires flamma relecta capit.  
 nec mihi parua fides annos hinc isse priores 145  
 Anna quod hoc coepta est mense Perenna coli.  
 hinc etiam ueteres initi memorantur honores  
 ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui.  
 denique quintus ab hoc fuerat Quintilis, et inde  
 incipit a numero nomina quisquis habet. 150  
 primus, oliuiferis Romam deductus ab aruis,  
 Pompilius menses sensit abesse duos,  
 siue hoc a Samio doctus qui posse renasci  
 nos putat, Egeria siue monente sua.  
 sed tamen errabant etiam nunc tempora, donec 155  
 Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit.  
 non haec ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor  
 credidit officiis esse minora suis,  
 promissumque sibi uoluit praenoscere caelum  
 nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos. 160  
 ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,  
 traditur exactis disposuisse notis.  
 is decies senos ter centum et quinque diebus  
 iunxit et e pleno tempora quarta die.  
 hic anni modus est: in lustrum accedere debet, 165  
 quae consummatur partibus, una dies.  
 Si licet occultos monitus audire deorum  
 uatibus, ut certe fama licere putat,  
 cum sis officiis, Gradiue, uirilibus aptus,  
 dic mihi matronae cur tua festa colant. 170  
 sic ego. sic posita dixit mihi casside Mauors  
 (sed tamen in dextra missilis hasta fuit):

1st

nunc primum studiis pacis deus utilis armis  
 aduocor et gressus in noua castra fero.  
 nec piget incepti: iuuat hac quoque parte morari, 175  
 hoc solam ne se posse Minerua putet.  
 disce, Latinorum uates operose dierum,  
 quod petis et memori pectore dicta nota.  
 parua fuit, si prima uelis elementa referre,  
 Roma, sed in parua spes tamen huius erat. 180  
 moenia iam stabant, populis angusta futuris,  
 credita sed turbae tum nimis ampla suae.  
 quae fuerit nostri si quaeris regia nati,  
 aspice de canna straminibusque domum.  
 in stipula placidi capiebat munera somni, 185  
 et tamen ex illo uenit in astra toro.  
 iamque loco maius nomen Romanus habebat,  
 nec coniunx illi nec socer ullus erat.  
 spernebant generos inopes uicinia diues,  
 et male credebar sanguinis auctor ego. 190  
 in stabulis habitasse et oues pauisse nocebat  
 iugeraque inculti pauca tenere soli.  
 cum pare quaeque suo coeunt uolucresque feraeque  
 atque aliquam de qua procreet anguis habet;  
 externis dantur conubia gentibus; at quae 195  
 Romano uellet nubere nulla fuit.  
 indolui patriamque dedi tibi, Romule, mentem:  
 tolle preces, dixi: quod petis arma dabunt.  
 festa parat Conso. Consus tibi cetera dicet,  
 illa facta die dum sua sacra canet. 200  
 intumueri Cures et quos dolor attigit idem:  
 tum primum generis intulit arma socer.  
 iamque fere raptae matrum quoque nomen habebant  
 tractaque erant longa bella propinqua mora.  
 conueniunt nuptae dictam Iunonis in aedem, 205  
 quas inter mea sic est nurus ausa loqui:  
 o pariter raptae, quoniam hoc commune tenemus,  
 non ultra lente possumus esse piaae.

stant acies: sed utra di sint pro parte rogandi  
eligite; hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet. 210  
quaerendum est uiduae fieri malitis an orbae.  
consilium uobis forte piumque dabo.  
consilium dederat: parent crinesque resoluunt  
maestaque funerea corpora ueste tegunt.  
iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae, 215  
iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat,  
cum raptae ueniunt inter patresque uirosque,  
inque sinu natos, pignora cara, tenent.  
ut medium campi scissis tetigere capillis,  
in terram posito procubuerunt genu, 220  
et, quasi sentirent, blando clamore nepotes  
tendebant ad auos bracchia parua suos.  
qui poterat clamabat auum tum denique uisum,  
et qui uix poterat posse coactus erat.  
tela uiris animique cadunt, gladiisque remotis 225  
dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus,  
laudatasque tenent natas, scutoque nepotem  
fert auus: hic scuti dulcior usus erat.  
inde diem quae prima mea est celebrare quotannis  
Oebalidae matres non leue munus habent, 230  
aut quia committi strictis mucronibus ausae  
finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis;  
uel quod erat de me feliciter Ilia mater,  
rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum.  
quid quod hiems adoperta gelu tum denique cedit 235  
et pereunt lapsae sole tepente niues?  
arboribus redeunt detonsae frigore frondes  
uuidaue in tenero palmitum gemma tumet,  
quaeque diu latuit, nunc qua se tollat in auras  
fertilis occultas inuenit herba uias. 240  
nunc fecundus ager, pecoris nunc hora creandi,  
nunc auis in ramo tecta laremque parat.  
tempora iure colunt Latiae fecunda parentes,  
quarum militiam uotaque partus habet.

adde quod, excubias ubi rex Romanus agebat, 245  
 qui nunc Esquilias nomina collis habet,  
 illic a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis  
 hac sunt, si memini, publica facta die.  
 quid moror et uariis onero tua pectora causis?  
 eminet ante oculos quod petis ecce tuos. 250  
 mater amat matres: matrum me turba frequentat.  
 haec nos praecipue tam pia causa decet.  
 ferte deae flores: gaudet florentibus herbis  
 haec dea; de tenero cingite flore caput.  
 dicite: tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti; 255  
 dicite: tu uoto parturientis ades.  
 siqua tamen grauida est, resoluta crine precetur  
 ut soluat partus molliter illa suos.  
 Quis mihi nunc dicet quare caelestia Martis  
 arma ferant Salii Mamuriumque canant? 260  
 nympa, mone, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae;  
 nympa, Numae coniunx, ad tua facta ueni.  
 uallis Aricinae silua praecinctus opaca  
 est lacus, antiqua religione sacer.  
 hic latet Hippolytus loris direptus equorum, 265  
 unde nemus nullis illud aditur equis.  
 licia dependent longas uelantia saepes  
 et posita est merita multa tabella deae.  
 saepe potens uoti, frontem redimita coronis,  
 femina lucentes portat ab Vrbe faces. 270  
 regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces,  
 et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.  
 defluit incerto lapidosus murmure riuus:  
 saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.  
 Egeria est quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis: 275  
 illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.  
 principio nimium promptos ad bella Quirites  
 molliri placuit iure deumque metu.  
 inde datae leges, ne firmior omnia posset,  
 coeptaque sunt pure tradita sacra coli. 280

exiit feritas, armisque potentius aequum est,  
et cum ciue pudet conseruisse manus,  
atque aliquis modo trux uisa iam uertitur ara  
uinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis.  
ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammās 285  
spargit et effusis aethera siccāt aquis.  
non alias missi cecidere frequentius ignes:  
rex pauet et uulgi pectora terror habet.  
cui dea, ne nimium terrere: piabile fulmen  
est, ait, et saeui flectitur ira Iouis. 290  
nam poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi  
tradere, Romani numen uterque soli;  
nec sine ui tradent: adhibe tu uincula captis.  
atque ita qua possint erudit arte capi.  
lucus Auentino suberat niger ilicis umbra; 295  
quo posses uiso dicere: numen inest.  
in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta uirenti  
manabat saxo uena perennis aquae:  
inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant.  
huc uenit et fonti rex Numa mactat ouem 300  
plenaque odorati dis ponit pocula Bacchi  
cumque suis antro conditus ipse latet.  
ad solitos ueniunt siluestria numina fontes  
et releuant multo pectora sicca mero.  
uina quies sequitur. gelido Numa prodit ab antro 305  
uinclaque sopitas addit in arta manus.  
somnia ut abscessit, pugnando uincula temptant  
rumpere; pugnautes fortius illa tenent.  
tum Numa: di nemorum, factis ignoscite nostris  
si scelus ingenio scitis abesse meo, 310  
quoque modo possit fulmen monstrare piari.  
sic Numa; sic quatiens cornua Faunus ait:  
magna petis, nec quae monitu tibi discere nostro  
fas sit: habent fines numina nostra suos.  
di sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis 315  
montibus; arbitrium est in sua regna Ioui.

hunc tu non poteris per te deducere caelo,  
 at poteris nostra forsitan usus ope.  
 dixerat haec Faunus. par est sententia Pici;  
 deme, tamen, nobis uincula, Picus ait; 320  
 Iuppiter huc ueniet, ualida deductus ab arte:  
 nubila promissi Styx mihi testis erit.  
 emissi laqueis quid agant, quae carmina dicant,  
 quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Iouem  
 scire nefas homini. nobis concessa canentur 325  
 quaeque pio dici uatis ab ore licet.  
 eliciunt caelo te, Iuppiter; unde minores  
 nunc quoque te celebrant Eliciumque uocant.  
 constat Auentinae tremuisse cacumina siluae,  
 terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iouis. 330  
 corda micant regis totoque e corpore sanguis  
 fugit et hirsutae deriguere comae.  
 ut rediit animus, da certa piamina, dixit,  
 fulminis, aliorum rexque paterque deum,  
 si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris, 335  
 hoc quoque quod petitur si pia lingua rogat.  
 adnuat oranti, sed uerum ambage remota  
 abdidit et dubio terruit ore uirum:  
 caede caput, dixit; cui rex, parebimus, inquit:  
 caedenda est hortis eruta caepa meis. 340  
 addidit hic hominis; sumes, ait ille, capillos.  
 postulat hic animam; cui Numa, piscis, ait.  
 risit et, his, inquit, facito mea tela procures,  
 o uir colloquio non abigende deum.  
 sed tibi, protulerit cum totum crastinus orbem 345  
 Cynthius, imperii pignora certa dabo.  
 dixit et ingenti tonitru super aethera motum  
 fertur, adorantem deseruitque Numam.  
 ille redit laetus memoratque Quiritibus acta:  
 tarda uenit dictis difficilisque fides. 350  
 at certe credemur, ait, si uerba sequetur  
 exitus: en audi crastina, quisquis ades.

protulerit terris cum totum Cynthus orbem,  
Iuppiter imperii pignora certa dabit.  
discedunt dubii, promissaque tarda uidentur, 355  
dependetque fides a ueniente die.  
mollis erat tellus rorata mane pruina:  
ante sui populus limina regis adest.  
prodit et in solio medius consedit acerno;  
innumeri circa stantque silentque uiri. 360  
ortus erat summo tantummodo margine Phoebus:  
sollicitae mentes speque metuque pauent.  
constitit aque caput niueo uelatus amictu  
iam bene dis notas sustulit ille manus,  
atque ita, tempus adest promissi muneris, inquit; 365  
pollicitam dictis, Iuppiter, adde fidem.  
dum loquitur, totum iam sol emouerat orbem,  
et grauis aetherio uenit ab axe fragor.  
ter tonuit sine nube deus, tria fulgura misit.  
credite dicenti; mira sed acta loquor: 370  
a media caelum regione dehiscere coepit.  
summisere oculos cum duce turba suo.  
ecce leui scutum uersatum leniter aura  
decidit: a populo clamor ad astra uenit.  
tollit humo munus caesa prius ille iuuenca 375  
quae dederat nulli colla premenda iugo;  
idque ancile uocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est  
quaque notes oculis angulus omnis abest.  
tum, memor imperii sortem consistere in illo,  
consilium multae calliditatis init: 380  
plura iubet fieri simili caelata figura,  
error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat.  
Mamurius, morum fabraene exactior artis  
difficile est, illud, dicere, clausit opus.  
cui Numa munificus, facti pete praemia, dixit; 385  
si mea nota fides, inrita nulla petes.  
iam dederat Saliis a saltu nomina ducta  
armaque et ad certos uerba canenda modos.

	tum sic Mamurius: merces mihi gloria detur, nominaque extremo carmine nostra sonent.	390
	inde sacerdotes operi promissa uetusto praemia persoluunt Mamuriumque uocant. Nubere siqua uoles, quamuis properabitis ambo, differ: habent paruae commoda magna morae. arma mouent pugnas; pugna est aliena maritis;	395
	condita cum fuerint, aptius omen erit. his etiam coniunx apicati cincta Dialis lucibus impexas debet habere comas.	
3rd	Tertia nox de mense suos ubi mouerit ignes, conditus e geminis Piscibus alter erit.	400
	nam duo sunt: Austris hic est, Aquilonibus ille proximus; a uento nomen uterque tenet.	
5th	Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia coniunx coeperit et quintae tempora lucis aget, siue est Arctophylax, siue est piger ille Bootes,	405
	mergetur uisus effugietque tuos. at non effugiet Vindemitor. hoc quoque causam unde trahat sidus parua docere mora est. Ampelon intonsum satyro nymphaque creatum fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse iugis.	410
	tradidit huic uitem pendentem e frondibus ulmi, quae nunc de pueri nomine nomen habet. dum legit in ramo pictas temerarius uuas, decidit: amissum Liber in astra tulit.	
6th	Sextus ubi Oceano cliuosum scandit Olympum Phoebus et alatis aethera carpit equis, quisquis ades castaeque colis penetralia Vestae, gratare, Iliacis turaque pone focis. Caesaris innumeris quos maluit ille mereri accessit titulis pontificalis honor.	415
	ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta uides. di ueteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti, qua grauis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,	420



7th

ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos 425  
     numina: cognatum, Vesta, tuere caput.  
 quos sancta fouet ille manu, bene uiuitis, ignes:  
     uiuete inextincti, flammaque duxque, precor.  
 Vna nota est Marti Nonis, sacrata quod illis  
     templa putant lucos Veiovis ante duos. 430  
 Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,  
     quilibet huc, inquit, confuge; tutus eris.  
 o quam de tenui Romanus origine creuit!  
     turba uetus quam non inuidiosa fuit!  
 ne tamen ignaro nouitas tibi nominis obstet, 435  
     disce quis iste deus, curue uocetur ita.  
 Iuppiter est iuuenis: iuuenales aspice uultus;  
     aspice deinde manum: fulmina nulla tenet.  
 fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantas  
     sumpta Ioui: primo tempore inermis erat; 440  
 ignibus Ossa nouis et Pelion altius Ossa  
     arsit et in solida fixus Olympus humo.  
 stat quoque capra simul: nymphae pauisse feruntur  
     Cretides; infanti lac dedit illa Ioui.  
 nunc uocor ad nomen: uegrandia farra coloni 445  
     quae male creuerunt, uescaque parua uocant.  
 uis ea si uerbi est, cur non ego Veiovis aedem  
     aedem non magni suspicer esse Iouis?  
 Iamque ubi caeruleum uariabunt sidera caelum,  
     suspice: Gorgonei colla uidebis equi. 450  
 creditur hic caesae grauida ceruice Medusae  
     sanguine respersis prosiluisse iubis.  
 huic supra nubes et subter sidera lapso  
     caelum pro terra, pro pede pinna fuit;  
 iamque indignanti noua frena receperat ore 455  
     cum leuis Aonias ungula fodit aquas.  
 nunc fruitur caelo, quod pinnis ante petebat,  
     et nitidus stellis quinque decemque micat.  
 Protinus aspicias uenienti nocte Coronam  
     Cnosida: Theseo crimine facta dea est. 460

8th

iam bene periuro mutarat coniuge Bacchum  
 quae dedit ingrato fila legenda uiro.  
 sorte tori gaudens, quid flebam rustica? dixit.  
 utiliter nobis perfidus ille fuit.  
 interea Liber depexos crinibus Indos 465  
 uincit et Eoo diues ab orbe redit.  
 inter captiuas facie praestante puellas  
 grata nimis Baccho filia regis erat.  
 flebat amans coniunx spatiataque litore curuo  
 edidit incultis talia uerba comis: 470  
 en iterum, fluctus, similes audite querelas;  
 en iterum lacrimas accipe, harena, meas.  
 dicebam, memini, periure et perfide Theseu.  
 ille abiit; eadem crimina Bacchus habet.  
 nunc quoque, nulla uiro, clamabo, femina credat: 475  
 nomine mutato causa relata mea est.  
 o utinam mea sors qua primum coeperat isset,  
 iamque ego praesenti tempore nulla forem.  
 quid me desertis morituram, Liber, harenis  
 seruabas? potui dedoluisse semel. 480  
 Bacche leuis leuiorque tuis quae tempora cingunt  
 frondibus, in lacrimas cognite Bacche meas,  
 ausus es ante oculos adducta paelice nostros  
 tam bene compositum sollicitare torum?  
 heu ubi pacta fides? ubi quae iurare solebas? 485  
 me miseram, quotiens haec ego uerba loquar?  
 Thesea culpabas fallacemque ipse uocabas:  
 iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo.  
 ne sciat haec quisquam tacitisque doloribus urar,  
 ne totiens falli digna fuisse puter. 490  
 praecipue cupiam celari Thesea, ne te  
 consortem culpa gaudeat esse suae.  
 at, puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi candida paelex?  
 eueniat nostris hostibus ille color.  
 quid tamen hoc refert? uitio tibi gratior ipso est. 495  
 quid facis? amplexus inquinat illa tuos.

Bacche, fidem praesta, nec praefer amoribus ullam  
 coniugis: adsueui semper amare uirum.  
 ceperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri,  
 me tua; at hic laudi est, ille pudendus amor. 500  
 ne noceat quod amo: neque enim tibi, Bacche, nocebat  
 quod flammis nobis fassus es ipse tuas.  
 nec quod nos uris mirum facis: ortus in igne  
 diceris et patria raptus ab igne manu.  
 illa ego sum cui tu solitus promittere caelum; 505  
 ei mihi, pro caelo qualia dona fero!  
 dixerat; audibat iamdudum uerba querentis  
 Liber, ut a tergo forte secutus erat.  
 occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccatur,  
 et pariter caeli summa petamus ait: 510  
 tu mihi iuncta toro, mihi iuncta uocabula sumes:  
 nam tibi mutatae Libera nomen erit,  
 sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae,  
 Volcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi.  
 dicta facit gemmasque nouem transformat in ignes: 515  
 aurea per stellas nunc micat illa nouem.  
**14th** Sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbes  
 purpureum rapido qui uehit axe diem,  
 altera gramineo spectabis Equirria campo  
 quem Tiberis curuis in latus urget aquis; 520  
 qui tamen eiecta si forte tenebitur unda,  
 Caelius accipiet puluerulentus equos.  
**15th** Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae,  
 haud procul a ripis, aduena Thybri, tuis.  
 plebs uenit ac uirides passim disiecta per herbas 525  
 potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.  
 sub Ioue pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt;  
 sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est;  
 pars, ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis,  
 desuper extentas imposuere togas. 530  
 sole tamen uinoque calent annosque precantur  
 quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.

inuenies illic qui Nestoris ebibat annos,  
     quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos.  
 illic et cantant quidquid didicere theatris, 535  
     et iactant faciles ad sua uerba manus,  
 et ducunt posito duras crateres choreas,  
     cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.  
 cum redeunt, titubant et sunt spectacula uulgi,  
     et fortunatos obuia turba uocat. 540  
 occurrit nuper (uisa est mihi digna relatu)  
     pompa: senem potum pota trahebat anus.  
 quae tamen haec dea sit quoniam rumoribus errat,  
     fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo.  
 arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne, 545  
     arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis,  
 compositusque cinis, tumulique in marmore carmen  
     hoc breue, quod moriens ipsa reliquit, erat:  
 PRAE BVIT AENEAS ET CAVSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM:  
     IPSA SVA DIDO CONCIDIT VSA MANV. 550  
 protinus inuadunt Numidae sine uindice regnum,  
     et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo,  
 seque memor spretum, thalamis tamen, inquit, Elissae  
     en ego, quem totiens reppulit illa, fruor.  
 diffugiunt Tyrii quo quemque agit error, ut olim 555  
     amisso dubiae rege uagantur apes. 556  
 pellitur Anna domo lacrimansque sororia linquit 559  
     moenia; germanae iusta dat ante suae. 560  
 mixta bibunt molles lacrimis unguenta fauillae,  
     uertice libatas accipiuntque comas,  
 terque uale dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos  
     pressit, et est illi uisa subesse soror.  
 nacta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo 565  
     moenia respiciens, dulce sororis opus.  
 fertilis est Melite sterili uicina Cosyrae  
     insula, quam Libyci uerberat unda freti.  
 hanc petit, hospitio regis confisa uetusto:  
     hospes opum diues rex ibi Battus erat. 570

qui postquam didicit casus utriusque sororis,  
 haec, inquit, tellus quantulacumque tua est.  
 et tamen hospitii seruasset ad ultima munus;  
 sed timuit magnas Pygmalionis opes. 574  
 tertia nudandas acceperat area messes, 557  
 inque cauos ierant tertia musta lacus: 558  
 signa recensuerat bis sol sua, tertius ibat 575  
 annus, et exilio terra paranda noua est.  
 frater adest belloque petit. rex arma perosus,  
 nos sumus inbelles: tu fuge sospes, ait.  
 iussa fugit uentoque ratem committit et undis:  
 asperior quouis aequore frater erat. 580  
 est prope piscosos lapidosi Crathidis amnes  
 paruus ager: Cameren incola turba uocat:  
 illuc cursus erat. nec longius abfuit inde  
 quam quantum nouies mittere funda potest:  
 uela cadunt primo et dubia librantur ab aura: 585  
 findite remigio, nauita dixit, aquas;  
 dumque parant torto subducere carbasa lino,  
 percutitur rapido puppis adunca Noto,  
 inque patens aequor, frustra pugnante magistro,  
 fertur, et ex oculis uisa refugit humus. 590  
 adsiliunt fluctus imoque a gurgite pontus  
 uertitur et canas alueus haurit aquas.  
 uincitur ars uento nec iam moderator habenis  
 utitur, at uotis is quoque poscit opem.  
 iactatur tumidas exul Phoenissa per undas 595  
 umidaque opposita lumina ueste tegit.  
 tum primum Dido felix est dicta sorori  
 et quaecumque aliquam corpore pressit humum.  
 ducitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus  
 puppis, et expositis omnibus hausta perit. 600  
 iam pius Aeneas regno nataque Latini  
 auctus erat, populos miscueratque duos.  
 litore dotali solo comitatus Achate  
 secretum nudo dum pede carpit iter,

aspicit errantem, nec credere sustinet Annam 605  
 esse: quid in Latios illa ueniret agros?  
 dum secum Aeneas, Anna est, exclamat Achates:  
 ad nomen uultus sustulit illa suum.  
 heu, quid agat? fugiat? quos terrae quaerat hiatus?  
 ante oculos miserae fata sororis erant. 610  
 sensit et adloquitur trepidam Cythereïus heros  
 (flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui):  
 Anna, per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas  
 tellurem fato prosperiore dari,  
 perque deos comites, hac nuper sede locatos, 615  
 saepe meas illos increpuisse moras.  
 nec timui de morte tamen: metus abfuit iste.  
 ei mihi, credibili fortior illa fuit.  
 ne refer: aspexi non illo pectore digna  
 uulnera Tartareas ausus adire domos. 620  
 at tu, seu ratio te nostris appulit oris  
 siue deus, regni commoda carpe mei.  
 multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae:  
 nomine grata tuo, grata sororis eris.  
 talia dicenti (neque enim spes altera restat) 625  
 credidit, errores exposuitque suos;  
 utque domum intrauit Tyrios induta paratus,  
 incipit Aeneas (cetera turba tacet):  
 hanc tibi cur tradam, pia causa, Lauinia coniunx,  
 est mihi: consumpsi naufragus huius opes. 630  
 orta Tyro est; regnum Libyca possedit in ora:  
 quam precor ut carae more sororis ames.  
 omnia promittit falsumque Lauinia uulnus  
 mente premit tacita dissimulatque metus;  
 donaque cum uideat praeter sua lumina ferri 635  
 multa, tamen mitti clam quoque multa putat.  
 non habet exactum quid agat: furialiter odit,  
 et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori.  
 nox erat: ante torum uisa est astare sororis  
 squalenti Dido sanguinolenta coma 640

et, fuge, ne dubita, maestum fuge, dicere, tectum;  
sub uerbum querulas impulit aura fores.  
exsilit et uelox humili suspensa fenestra  
se iacit (audacem fecerat ipse timor),  
quaque metu rapitur tunica uelata recincta, 645  
currit ut auditis territa damma lupis.  
corniger hanc tumidis rapuisse Numicius undis  
creditur et stagnis occuluisse suis.  
Sidonis interea magno clamore per agros  
quaeritur: apparent signa notaeque pedum. 650  
uentum erat ad ripas: inerant uestigia ripis;  
sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas.  
ipsa loqui uisa est: placidi sum nympha Numici:  
amne perenne latens Anna Perenna uocor.  
protinus erratis laeti uescuntur in agris 655  
et celebrant largo remque diemque mero.  
sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum;  
pars Themis, Inachiam pars putat esse bouem.  
inuenies qui te nymphen Azanida dicant  
teque Ioui primos, Anna, dedisse cibos. 660  
haec quoque, quam referam, nostras peruenit ad aures  
fama, nec a ueri dissidet illa fide.  
plebs uetus et nullis etiam nunc tuta tribunis  
fugit et in Sacri uertice Montis erat;  
iam quoque quem secum tulerant defecerat illos 665  
uictus et humanis usibus apta Ceres.  
orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bouillis,  
pauper, sed multae sedulitatis anus;  
illa, leui mitra canos incincta capillos,  
fingebat tremula rustica liba manu, 670  
atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat  
diuidere: haec populo copia grata fuit.  
pace domi facta signum posuere perenne,  
quod sibi defectis illa tulisset opem.  
nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellae, 675  
dicere; nam coeunt certaue probra canunt.

nuper erat dea facta: uenit Gradius ad Annam,  
 et cum seducta talia uerba facit:  
 mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum;  
 pendet ab officio spes mihi magna tuo. 680  
 armifer armiferae correptus amore Mineruae  
 uror, et hoc longo tempore uulnus alo.  
 effice, di studio similes coeamus in unum:  
 conueniunt partes hae tibi, comis anus.  
 dixerat; illa deum promisso ludit inani, 685  
 et stultam dubia spem trahit usque mora.  
 saepius instanti, mandata peregrimus, inquit:  
 euicta est: precibus uix dedit illa manus.  
 credit amans thalamosque parat. deducitur illuc  
 Anna tegens uultus, ut noua nupta, suos. 690  
 oscula sumpturus subito Mars aspicit Annam:  
 nunc pudor elusum, nunc subit ira deum.  
 ridet amatorem canae noua diua Mineruae,  
 nec res hac Veneri gratior ulla fuit.  
 inde ioci ueteres obscenaque dicta canuntur, 695  
 et iuuat hanc magno uerba dedisse deo.  
 praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos,  
 cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focus:  
 ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos;  
 sacrilegae telis me petiere manus. 700  
 ipsa uirum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui:  
 quae cecidit ferro Caesaris umbra fuit.  
 ille quidem caelo positus Iouis atria uidit,  
 et tenet in magno templa dicata foro;  
 at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum 705  
 numine, polluerant pontificale caput,  
 morte iacent merita: testes estote, Philippi,  
 et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus.  
 hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt  
 Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem. 710  
 Postera cum teneras aurora refecerit herbas,  
 Scorpis a prima parte videndus erit.



17th

Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho:  
 Bacche, faue uati, dum tua festa cano.  
 nec referam Semelen, quacum, nisi tela secunda 715  
 Iuppiter adferret, tu periturus eras;  
 nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,  
 expletum patrio corpore matris opus.  
 Sithonas et Scythicos longum narrare triumphos  
 et domitas gentes, turifer Inde, tuas. 720  
 tu quoque, Thebanae mala praeda, tacebere, matris,  
 inque tuum furiis acte Lycurge genus.  
 ecce libet subitos pisces Tyrrenaque monstra  
 dicere; sed non est carminis huius opus:  
 carminis huius opus causas exponere quare 725  
 uitisator populos ad sua liba uocet.  
 ante tuos ortus arae sine honore fuerunt,  
 Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focis.  
 te memorant Gange totoque Oriente subacto  
 primitias magno seposuisse Ioui; 730  
 cinnama tu primus captiuaque tura dedisti  
 deque triumphato uiscera tosta boue.  
 nomine ab auctoris ducunt libamina nomen  
 libaque, quod sanctis pars datur inde focis;  
 liba deo fiunt, sucis quia dulcibus ille 735  
 gaudet, et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt.  
 ibat harenoso satyris comitatus ab Hebro  
 (non habet ingratos fabula nostra iocos),  
 iamque erat ad Rhodopen Pangaeaue florida uentum;  
 aeriferae comitum concrepuere manus. 740  
 ecce nouae coeunt uolucres tinnitibus actae,  
 quosque mouent sonitus aera sequuntur apes;  
 colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani  
 Liber et inuenti praemia mellis habet.  
 ut satyri leuisque senex tetigere saporem, 745  
 quaerebant flauos per nemus omne fauos.  
 audit in exesa stridorem examinis ulmo,  
 aspicit et ceras dissimulatque senex;

utque piger pandi tergo residebat aselli,  
 applicat hunc ulmo corticibusque cauis. 750  
 constitit ipse super ramoso stipite nixus  
 atque auide trunco condita mella petit.  
 milia crabronum coeunt et uertice nudo  
 spicula defigunt oraue sima notant.  
 ille cadit praeceps et calce feritur aselli, 755  
 inclamatque suos auxiliumque rogat.  
 concurrunt satyri turgentiaque ora parentis  
 rident: percusso claudicat ille genu.  
 ridet et ipse deus, limumque inducere monstrat;  
 hic paret monitis et linit ora luto. 760  
 melle pater fruitur liboque infusa calenti  
 iure repertori splendida mella damus.  
 femina cur praesit non est rationis opertae:  
 femineos thyrsos concitat ille choros.  
 cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris? uinosior aetas 765  
 cratera et grauidae munera uitae amat.  
 cur hedera cincta est? hedera est gratissima Baccho;  
 hoc quoque cur ita sit, discere nulla mora est.  
 Nysiadas nymphas puerum quaerente nouerca  
 hanc frondem cunis opposuisse ferunt. 770  
 restat ut inueniam quare toga libera detur  
 Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo:  
 siue quod ipse puer semper iuuenisque uideris,  
 et media est aetas inter utrumque tibi;  
 seu, quia tu pater es, patres sua pignora, natos, 775  
 commendant curae numinibusque tuis;  
 siue, quod es Liber, uestis quoque libera per te  
 sumitur et uitae liberioris iter;  
 an quia, cum colerent prisci studiosius agros,  
 et faceret patrio rure senator opus, 780  
 et caperet fascis a curuo consul aratro,  
 nec crimen duras esset habere manus,  
 rusticus ad ludos populus ueniebat in Urbem  
 (sed dis, non studiis ille dabatur honor:

	luce sua ludos uuae commentor habebat,	785
	quos cum taedifera nunc habet ille dea) –	
	ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia posset,	
	uisa dies dandae non aliena togae.	
	mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua uertas	
	et des ingenio uela secunda meo.	790
	Itur ad Argeos (qui sint, sua pagina dicet)	
	hac, si commemini, praeteritaque die.	
	stella Lycaoniam uergit declinis ad Arcton,	
	Miluus: haec illa nocte uidenda uenit.	
	quid dederit uolucris si uis cognoscere caelum,	795
	Saturnus regnis a Ioue pulsus erat;	
	concitatur iratus ualidos Titanas in arma,	
	quaeque fuit fati debita temptat opem.	
	matre satus Terra, monstrum mirabile, taurus	
	parte sui serpens posteriore fuit:	800
	hunc triplici muro lucis incluserat atris	
	Parcarum monitu Styx uiolenta trium.	
	uiscera qui tauri flammis adolenda dedisset,	
	sors erat aeternos uincere posse deos.	
	immolat hunc Briareus facta ex adamante securi,	805
	et iamiam flammis exta daturus erat.	
	Iuppiter alitibus rapere imperat; attulit illi	
	miluus, et meritis uenit in astra suis.	
19th	Vna dies media est, et fiunt sacra Mineruae,	
	nominaque a iunctis quinque diebus habent.	810
	sanguine prima uacat nec fas concurrere ferro:	
	causa quod est illa nata Minerua die.	
	altera tresque super strata celebrantur harena:	
	ensibus exsertis bellica laeta dea est.	
	Pallada nunc pueri teneraeque orate puellae:	815
	qui bene placarit Pallada doctus erit.	
	Pallade placata lanam mollire puellae	
	discent et plenas exonerare colos.	
	illa etiam stantes radio percurrere telas	
	erudit et rarum pectine denset opus.	820

hanc cole, qui maculas laesis de uestibus aufers;  
 hanc cole, uelleribus quisquis aëna paras.  
 nec quisquam inuita faciet bene uincula plantae  
 Pallade, sit Tychio doctior ille licet;  
 et licet antiquo manibus collatus Epeo 825  
 sit prior, irata Pallade mancus erit.  
 uos quoque, Phoebea morbos qui pellitis arte,  
 munera de uestris pauca referte deae.  
 nec uos, turba breui censu fraudata, magistri,  
 spernite (discipulos attrahit illa novos), 830  
 quique moues caelum, tabulamque coloribus uris,  
 quique facis docta mollia saxa manu.  
 mille dea est operum; certe dea carminis illa est:  
 si mereor, studiis adsit amica meis.  
 Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum, 835  
 hic, ubi non plana est, sed prope plana uia,  
 parua licet uideas Captae delubra Mineruae,  
 quae dea natali coepit habere suo.  
 nominis in dubio causa est. capitale uocamus  
 ingenium sollers: ingeniosa dea est. 840  
 an quia de capitis fertur sine matre paterni  
 uertice cum clipeo prosiluisse suo?  
 an quia perdomitis ad nos captiua Faliscis  
 uenit, ut in signo littera prisca docet?  
 an quod habet legem capitis quae pendere poenas 845  
 ex illo iubeat furta reperta loco?  
 a quacumque trahis ratione uocabula, Pallas,  
 pro ducibus nostris aegida semper habe.  
 23rd Summa dies e quinque tubas lustrare canoras  
 admonet et forti sacrificare deae. 850  
 nunc potes ad solem sublato dicere uultu,  
 hic here Phrixeae uellera pressit ouis.  
 seminibus tostis sceleratae fraude nouercae  
 sustulerat nullas, ut solet, herba comas:  
 mittitur ad tripodas certa qui sorte reportet 855  
 quam sterili terrae Delphicus edat opem.

- hic quoque corruptus cum semine nuntiat Helles  
et iuuenis Phrixi funera sorte peti.  
usque recusantem ciues et tempus et Ino  
compulerunt regem iussa nefanda pati; 860  
et soror et Phrixus, uelati tempora uittis,  
stant simul ante aras iunctaque fata gemunt.  
aspicit hos, ut forte pependerat aethere, mater  
et ferit attonita pectora nuda manu,  
inque draconigenam nimbis comitantibus urbem 865  
desilit, et natos eripit inde suos;  
utque fugam capiant, aries nitidissimus auro  
traditur: ille uehit per freta longa duos.  
dicitur infirma cornu tenuisse sinistra  
femina quae de se nomina fecit aquae. 870  
paene simul periit, dum uult succurrere lapsae,  
frater, et extentas porrigit usque manus.  
flebat, ut amissa gemini consorte pericli,  
caeruleo iunctam nescius esse deo.  
litoribus tactis aries fit sidus; at huius 875  
peruenit in Colchas aurea lana domos.  
**26th** Tres ubi Luciferos ueniens praemiserit Eos,  
tempora nocturnis aequa diurna feres.  
**30th** Inde quater pastor saturos ubi clauserit haedos,  
canuerint herbae rore recente quater, 880  
Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis  
et Romana Salus araque Pacis erit.  
**31st** Luna regit menses: huius quoque tempora mensis  
finit Auentino Luna colenda iugo.



## COMMENTARY

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**1–10** The book begins with an invocation of Mars, from whom the month *Martius* takes its name. The prayer asks him to disarm. Gods are frequently asked to appear in a peaceful guise (e.g. 789–90, 1.3, Tib. 2.5.1–10); but this comes with the added point that his clothing should fit the genre of the context in which he is to be present: so *Elegia* and *Tragoedia* are appropriately equipped at *Am.* 3.1.7–14, Venus wears tragic *cothurni* when she comes to tell Aeneas about Dido (*Aen.* 1.337), and Apollo is described at Prop. 4.6.31–6 as aggressive in appearance, to match the battle of Actium, but for the closing party, at 69, the god requests the lyre he has not brought at 32. Silius imitates the passage at 7.458–63, where Minerva (*bellica uirgo*) strides towards the Judgement of Paris, her *aegis* removed (*deposita*) and her hair freed from her *cassis*. Ovid's encounter with Mars will be resumed at 167.

**1–2 Bellice:** in his early works Ovid twice reprised the opening *Arma* of the *Aeneid* (*Am.* 1.1.1 [see p. 1], *Ars* 3.1). In *Fasti* 3 and 4 he has two contrasting variants. Venus' month is heralded by the similar-sounding *Alma* (also echoing Lucretius 1.2); March by an alternative marker of war, like Lucan's opening *Bella a B* to Virgil's *A*. In book 4 there is much on the fertility of spring as a number of goddesses are addressed who promote the growth of crops and animals; but in 3 we will in fact find very little on war (and not much on Mars). Nor is there any sign here of the figure some twentieth-century scholars identified as a primitive agricultural deity who subsequently took on aspects of Ares (cf. Woodard 2006: 232–5, 264–5): Ovid's Mars is emphatically *bellicus*, even when in love (a rapist in 21–2; a tricked *miles gloriosus* in 675–96). **depositis clipeo**

**paulisper et hasta:** to make himself suit a poetic appearance (especially in an elegiac poem) Mars must put down his arms. *paulisper* makes the request seem less demanding, but comes with the implication that the time is limited in which Ovid will have need of him, just the month, or (as it turns out) even less. The adverb also introduces the concept of small scale, which is persistently asserted by the metre and length, and challenged by the subject matter of the *Fasti*: cf. 2.3–4, 125–6 *quid uolui demens elegis imponere tantum | ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis*. Mars was conventionally represented with shield, spear, and helmet; so for example the representations of Mars associated with the Augustan temple of Mars Ultor, seen in the copy in the Capitoline Museum (*LIMC* 'Ares/Mars' 24a), as well as on coins and gems marked with the inscription *Mars Ultor* (e.g. *LIMC* 233). **ades** 'come': the verb is commonly used of divine epiphanies (*OLD* 13), and the indicative form of the second person singular

is conventionally used with imperative force, especially in prayers. **nitidas casside solue comas** ‘loose your shining hair from your helmet’. The adjective *nitidus*, which recurs of the sun in 44, of the constellation Equus at 458, and of Lucifer at *Trist.* 1.3.71 (e.g.), perhaps evokes Mars’ identity as a heavenly body, the planet (*rutilus*, ‘red’, would have been a more specific pointer to this aspect of the god). Elsewhere O. uses the adjective to describe hair that is shiny with oil (*Ars* 3.443, *Ep.* 21.166) or health (*Ars* 1.734) or divinity (apparently: *Trist.* 2.172). It is found of Apollo in the invocation at Tibullus 2.5.7 (see 29–30 n. for a clear allusion to this poem) and of Bacchus’ hair in lines quoted at *GLK* 6.256 *crine nitidus apto* (cf. also Sen. *Oed.* 445). The latter may be significant, because, as the act of a god, the verb *soluere* evokes *Lyaeus* (the ‘Loosener’: cf. Horace, *Epod.* 9.38 *Lyaeo soluere*, *Carm.* 1.7.22–3, Propertius 3.5.21 and 3.17.5–6, Michalopoulos 2001 s.v. *Lyaeus*, for etymological plays on this), and thus points programmatically to Bacchus, who will feature as the lover of Ampelos at 409–14, the husband of Ariadne in 459–516, and the deity of the Liberalia in 713–90.

**3–4 forsitan ipse roges quid sit cum Marte poetae?** At 4.3 (see p. 3) it is Venus herself who asks *quid tibi mecum?* (‘what is your business with me?’): see Oakley on Livy 8.25.3 on this common idiom. So ill-suited is Mars to a poetic and especially an elegiac context that he has to be prompted and in the pentameter to be told in as straightforward a way as possible that the month *Martius* is named after him. **nomina:** plural for singular, as is common in Latin poetic style (e.g. 7 *tempora*, 18 *somnos*, 22 *furta*, 247 *templa*, 331 *corda*, 376 *colla*).

**5–6** Mars has seen Athena (= Minerva) fighting in book 5 of the *Iliad*, where she first encourages Diomedes (5.1–3, 124–32), and then, when she takes over from Sthenelus as the driver of his chariot, directs it against Ares (= Mars) himself, wards off the god’s spear and puts her strength behind Diomedes’ so that it pierces Ares’ belly (*Il.* 5.835–63). The fighting is savage in general, but *fera* could also be focalized through Mars; and Minerva’s hand is explicitly involved (*Il.* 5.853). Again there is a link with the poem of *Fasti* 4, where O.’s words *scis, dea, ... de uulnere* are teasingly ambiguous: Venus may know about the wound her son Cupid inflicted on O. in *Amores* 1.1; but she knows far more acutely about the wound she herself suffered at Diomedes’ hands at *Iliad* 5.330–64. **Mineruae:** the presence of Minerva here symbolizes her importance in the book. In pointing Mars’ gaze towards Minerva, O. sets him on the path that leads to lust and humiliation (677–96); at 809–50 he will treat as a festival of Minerva not only the Quinquatrus, but also the Tubilustria, more commonly associated with Mars (cf. Minerva’s teasing words on the *Quinquatrus minores* at 6.695 *Martius ... agit tali mea nomine festa*). The Quinquatrus provides



an opportunity to describe the *artes ingenuae* that she patronizes (809–34). Merli 2000: 133–4 points out that at *Iliad* 15.121–7, it is Athena who disarms Ares of helmet, shield, and spear when he is about to disobey Zeus’ instruction not to participate in the fighting. **uacat** ‘has leisure for’, implying that warfare is the serious business (*negotium*), from which the *ingenuae artes* (‘liberal arts’, including poetry) are a relaxation.

**7–8 Pallados:** in verses 7–8 of *Amores* 1.1 *arma ... uentilet ... Minerva O.* has covertly played with the etymology of Pallas, so called ἀπό τοῦ πάλλειν τὸ δόρυ (‘from shaking the spear’: Servius, *Aen.* 1.39; and see McKeown 1987: 56–7); here he makes the same point by juxtaposing the Greek name with *cuspidis*. In denying the essence of her bellicose name, she offers a model for Mars, whose name is linked to the *mares* (males) he leads in war (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.73) or to *mors* (death: see Maltby 1991 s.v. *Mars*). **ponendae tempora sume | cuspidis:** *tempora* is the first word of the *Fasti* as well as its major theme. The god is asked to take time to lay aside his spear (as Minerva does at 6.655 *posita ... cuspide*), but also to take up the poem of time. If part of Romulus’ purpose in associating the first month with Mars is to get his people out early on campaign, there is irony in the instruction to make this the time for laying down the spear. For *sumere* and *ponere* opposed in marking a change of genre, see *Ars* 1.702 *fortia nam posita sumpserat arma colo* (Achilles asserts his masculine identity by putting down the distaff, symbol of femininity, and heads off towards the *Iliad*). **sume ... inuenies:** i.e. if you take the time, you will find: the imperative, as often, functions as an alternative to a *si*-clause: G&L §593.4. **inuenies et quod inermis agas** ‘you will find also something to do disarmed’: the *et* qualifies the whole of the relative clause. *inermis* carries out the disarming requested in 1–2, and provides a key word for the book and its generic play (repeated in 9 and 440: see Hinds 1992: 88–112 and Merli 2000: 37–68 for discussions of the theme). What O. addresses to Mars also applies to the general reader: so Propertius offered his erotic elegy as *quod pace legas* (3.1.17) in contrast to annalistic epic.

**9–10 tum quoque inermis eras, cum ...:** as elsewhere in the *Fasti*, repetition of the same or a related word makes a link across a point of transition: cf. 3.448 *suspicer*, 450 *suspice*, 520 *Tiberis*, 524 *Thybrī*. Though the reader might suppose Mars simply happened to be out of his armour, there is a notion here that Silvia’s beauty disarmed him. O. recalls a famous myth that features Mars not involved in war – that he raped the daughter of the usurped king Numitor, who gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus (see further 11–48, 35–6 nn.). As at Tib. 2.5.51–4 (cited below, 29–30 n.), a story that features sexual desire makes Mars an elegiac figure; but *inermis* brings a twist, for at *Am.* 3.7.71, as Professor Kenney reminds me, the adjective is used to describe the suddenly impotent Ovid. **Romana** could

be proleptic: ‘who will bear Romulus, the founder of Rome’. In that case, we imagine Silvia serving Vesta in Alba Longa (Livy 1.20.3; Tib. 2.5.50–6; Dion. Hal. 1.77), where the flame brought by Aeneas from Troy (*ignibus Iliacis*, 29) needs to be kept burning through the years prior to Rome’s founding, or drawing water from the Numicius, whence came libations for Vesta according to Servius on *Aen.* 7.150. But the prominence of the epithet has the effect of setting the story on the site of Rome, so we imagine her going to the Tiber, perhaps *via* the Campus Martius, where Mars is always present in name, where he had a temple near to the river (*Epicedion Drusi* 231), and where he has been seen, watching the Equirria, at 2.860. The anachronism undoes the Romulus story as a whole: if a settlement with a cult of Vesta exists on the future site of Rome, what need of a Romulus as founder (*Romanae conditor urbis*, 24)? **cepit**: despite the disarming of Mars, military imagery persists. God of War though he may be, Mars is ‘captured’ by the sleeping girl’s beauty, just as Propertius is by the eyes of Cynthia: *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis* (1.1.1). The verb is, moreover, a significant one to use of a Vestal: Aulus Gellius 1.12 employs it repeatedly to describe the selection of a girl for the role, and in 1.12.13 explains the usage as evoking capture in war. **ut**: a ‘teleological’ *ut*: when used of a god, what might seem best taken as a consequence can be treated as a purpose: cf. 4.123 (of Venus) *Assaracique nurus dicta est, ut scilicet olim | magnus Iuleos Caesar haberet auos; ne* at *Met.* 15.760–1 *ne foret hic* (Augustus) *igitur mortali semine cretus, | ille* (Julius Caesar) *deus faciendus erat*. **huic urbi**: O. speaks as if in Rome (even though the poem was issued when he was in Tomi). **semina**: O. uses the noun with an abstract sense (‘origin’ or ‘cause’), as at *Ars* 3.512 *odii semina*, *Rem.* 81 *semina morbi*; but it brings a strikingly physical note when real semen is involved, and undoes the high-mindedness of the purpose clause: when ejaculating, not even gods have their minds on the Rome to come. The combination with *magna* reflects on the majesty of the god and implies the greatness of the offspring.

**11–48** There are a number of Greek stories to which the myth of the conception and birth of the twins is related. In particular, *Odyssey* 11.235–59 and Sophocles, fr. 648–68 Radt tell of Tyro, raped by Poseidon, and hence mother of Pelias and Neleus: the river Enipeus and sleep play a part in her rape; and her twins too were exposed in a tub but rescued by a herdsman. This tradition is explored by Connors 1994, who notes (103–4) that the extended narrative of the love of the river Anio for Ilia at *Am.* 3.6.45–82 (an important model for Anna at 643–54) is preceded by a couplet on Tyro that alludes to the *Odyssey* passage. At 1.108–30 Herodotus tells the story of how, as a result of a threatening dream, Astyages, King of

Media, orders the exposure of his grandson Cyrus; but the baby is saved by a peasant couple, and eventually usurps his grandfather's throne. The general similarities to the Romulus and Remus story are obvious: see 31 n. for a precise allusion. Narratives of the rape of Ilia were told already by Fabius Pictor (37–8 n.), the first historian of Rome, and by Ennius, in the *Annales* (27–38 n.); among the various versions treated at Dion. Hal. 1.77 is one that features a Mars who, unlike O.'s, reveals his identity to console the girl. For further discussion, see Murgatroyd 2005 (on narrative technique), Albertson 2012 (on artistic representations, including [68–9; figures 21–3] what appears to be an Augustan temple pediment, perhaps of Agrippa's Pantheon), and Scioli 2015: 173–216 (examining Silvia's dream within generic and artistic contexts).

**11–12 *Silvia Vestalis (quid enim uetat inde moueri?)***: as Plutarch points out (*Rom.* 3.3), the mother of the twins is known variously as *Ilia* (233; 2.598, 4.54–5), *Rhea*, and *Silvia* (also 45; 2.383). *Silvia* here leads into a sequence of words in which the syllable *ue* is prominent, perhaps with an etymological point: the negative ordinances connected with the cult of Vesta make it appropriate that the goddess's name should be similar to *uetare*. Commentators normally supply *me* as the object of *uetat*: 'for what forbids me beginning from there?' (*OLD* *moueo* 17): cf. 1.19 *pagina ... mouetur* (also ambiguous), 4.820 *inde mouetur opus* (the establishment of the city's walls). The rape is where Ennius' Martial poem began, and Barchiesi 1997a: 63 brings out the link with *Tristia* 2.259–60 *sumpserit Annales (nihil est hirsutius illis) | facta sit unde parens Ilia nempe leget*: Ennius was not condemned for beginning from such a point. But O.'s failure to express the object allows us to consider supplying *te*: 'what forbids you from being moved by a Vestal?' (*OLD* 15). What would be a crime for a man is allowed to the god. In Statius' imitation of this passage (*Silu.* 1.2.191–3) Venus' phrase *nec me prohibente* again leaves the object unstated: *quis septemgeminæ posuisset moenia Romae | imperii Latiale caput, ni Dardana furto | cepisset Martem, nec me prohibente, sacerdos?* **lauaturas**: the future participle has a sense of purpose ('to wash'); the form is an alternative to the normal *loturus*, found only here. The related supine form *lauatum* is used by Plautus, Terence, and Horace. Fresh running water was important for ritual purposes, both in cleansing holy objects (4.340), which might include utensils used in ritual, and as an offering in itself (Sophocles, *O.C.* 469–81, Dion. Hal. *Rom.* 1.77.1, Prop. 4.4.15): see Frazer *ad loc.* and on 2.45, Austin on *Aen.* 2.719.

**13–17 *uentum ... coma ... resedit humo uentos ... comas ... dum sedet umbrosae***: the repetitions are perhaps intended as soporific, to match what happens within the narrative.

**13–14 uentum erat** ‘she had come’ literally ‘there had been a coming’: impersonal passive. The form looks ahead to 651 and thus links Anna’s story with Silvia’s. **ad molli decliuem tramite ripam:** though *ripa* can mean the slope that leads down to a lake (*Met.* 6.373), the other 58 instances in *O.* refer to a riverbank, so a reader may more easily picture Silvia going down to the Tiber than seeking water from the *fons Camenarum* (reserved for use by the Vestals in Rome, according to Plutarch, *Num.* 13.2) or the Alban grove of Mars mentioned by Dionysius (1.77.1). The ablative *molli tramite* seems to modify *decliuem*: ‘the bank descending with a gently sloping path’. *trames* is often used for the sense ‘path’ when the context shows that a slope is visualized: *Met.* 10.53 *carpitur accliuus per muta silentia trames*, *Aeneid* 5.610 (Iris on the rainbow) *cito decurrit tramite uirgo*, Columella 10.1.48 *ueniant decliui tramite riui*, *Sen. Ep.* 84.13 *per difficiles ... et arduos tramites adeuntur*, *Sil.* 6.120 *cliuoso tramite uitae*. **ponitur e summa fictilis urna coma:** cf. *Prop.* 4.4.16 *urgebat medium fictilis urna caput* (Tarpeia, a later Vestal in an earlier poem, who falls in love and betrays the city to Titus Tatius), and *Amores* 1.10.6 *cum premeret summi uerticis urna comas* (Amynone about to be raped by Neptune). **fictilis:** earthenware is a sign of primitiveness appropriate to the time (as at *Tib.* 1.1.38, *Prop.* 4.1.5) and to the deity (*Val. Max.* 4.4.11 *Vestae focos, fictilibus etiam nunc uasis contentos*).

**15–16 humo:** from Virgil on, the ablative of place is a frequent alternative to the locative *humi* (*TLL* s.v. 3124.24–41). **turbatas restituitque comas:** the disturbance of Silvia’s hair implies that she is not wearing the head-band (*infula*) or ribbons (*uittae*: 30) of the Vestal, or perhaps that they have been dislodged: in either case a symbol of what is to come. In addition, Silvia is made variously seductive for the watching Mars. Having bared her breast, she tidies her hair, thus showing concern for her appearance, but at the same time allying herself with the Ovidian *puellae* whose disordered hair is presented as part of the charm (*Am.* 1.7.12 *nec dominam motae dedecere comae*; *Ars* 3.153 *neglecta decet multas coma*; *Met.* 1.477, 497–8: Daphne), perhaps in part because of the implication of sexual activity (*Am.* 3.14.33 *cur plus quam somno turbatos esse capillos?*). -*que* is often found postponed in the second half of the pentameter (in book 3 at 128, 130, 348, 406, 418, 601, 626), where it conveniently provides an open short syllable.

**17–18** The *locus amoenus* invites rest in the heat of a summer’s day. Typical elements within such a scene are shade (*umbrosae salices*), running water (*leue murmur aquae*; and cf. 12–13), birdsong (*uolucresque canorae*), all of them conducive to sleep: see e.g. Plato, *Phaedrus* 229A–230C (talk of sleep follows at 258E–259D), Theocritus, *Id.* 7.131–46; rape intrudes into landscapes so described at e.g. 4.427–46, *Met.* 5.385–96, 11.229–40. For

general bibliography, see Nisbet & Hubbard 1978: 52–3; on such landscapes in Ovid, see Segal 1969 and Hinds in Hardie 2002: 122–49.

**19–20** A pleasingly realistic description of falling asleep under such conditions: after carrying the urn, rest is attractive (*blanda*), and gradually Silvia's eyes close, and her hand falls from where it has been supporting her chin. **furtim** anticipates *furta* (22), as *languida* does the two instances in 25. Both words hint at what is to come. **ocellis** is otherwise used by O. only in his erotic works (including *Am.* 3.6.57, 79, in the *Ilia* narrative); it also contributes to the elegiac tone by echoing Prop. 1.1.1, like *cepit* (10 n.): see Merli 2000: 42–4.

**21–2** Rape is a frequent and disturbing feature of O.'s narratives. Some rapists are thwarted (e.g. Priapus at 1.431–6 and 6.335–44, Faunus at 2.333–54; Apollo by Daphne's transformation at *Met.* 1.543–56, Pan by that of Syrinx at *Met.* 1.701–6); others are brutal (Mercury towards Lara at 2.613–14; Tereus towards Philomela at *Met.* 6.519–62). Mars is here fathering Romulus and Remus, so the moment might be solemn. But the repetitiveness of 21 and the brevity of the act introduce a comic note: Mars makes a laughable lover, who totally ignores O.'s encouragement of thoughtful delay (*Ars* 2.683–728). For him, sex lasts less than a line, and Silvia does not even wake up. In *Metamorphoses* 1 Apollo's falling in love with Daphne changes the generic tone of the poem from epic to elegiac (Nicoll 1980). Similar language appears at *Met.* 1.490–1 *Phoebus amat uisaeque cupit conubia Daphnes, | quodque cupit sperat suaque illum oracula fallunt*, but the differences are important (marriage and hope come to Apollo's mind), and these two verses are only a small part of the account. Closer in effect is *Met.* 5.395 *paene simul uisa est dilectaque raptaque Diti*; but marriage will eventually follow for Persephone. Mars remains epic in love: the couplet is dominated by active verbs, and the repeated *-que* of 21 picks up on a feature of epic style from Homer on (see Skutsch on Ennius, *Ann.* 170; *Ann.* 395 *frangitque quatitque*, 422 *ostentatque iubetque*, and Austin on *Aen.* 1.18 *tenditque fouetque* and 4.83 *auditque uidetque*). Here it accompanies a striking double polyptoton *uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita*, on which see Wills 1996: 316–25, 336. **potitur**: O. has the form twelve times, all scanned with a short *i*, as it is already in Ennius (*Ann.* 71) and by all dactylic poets after Lucilius (*Ep.* 14.113 is a late interpolation); likewise the eleven instances of another nominally fourth-conjugation form, *onitur*. **furta fefellit** 'hid his rape'. *furtum*, literally 'theft', is used for illicit and secret sexual activity, and then for sex more generally (*OLD* 2b). *fallere* is likewise used in an extended sense, not 'deceive' but 'keep hidden' (*OLD* 8). The two words together stress the god's deceit – an extraordinary use of 'divine power', *diuina ope*, a phrase that normally describes the kind of salvation only a god can bring (e.g. *Pont.* 1.2.142, Livy 7.2.3, Tac. *Hist.* 4.53).

**23–4** After the polysyndeton of 21–2, O. has a couplet without conjunctions. **somnus abit, iacet ipsa grauis**: her lethargy remains after the nap (so too in 25). But *gravis* has an additional meaning: as the next sentence explains, Silvia is literally burdened with the weight of the future god inside her (330 n.); for possible generic implications, see 33 n. *gravis* = *gravida* ‘pregnant’ (OLD 2b) also at 2.615. **iam scilicet**: while seeming a marker of confidence (‘of course’), *scilicet* often adds an ironic or disbelieving tone, e.g. 4.31–2 *Dardanon Electra nesciret Atlantide natum | scilicet, Electran concubuisse Ioui* (where such mythological investigation seems surprising for Romulus; Barchiesi 1997a: 172–4); 4.123 (10 n.); *Am.* 2.7.25 *scilicet ancillam quae tam tibi fida rogarem* (where the next poem will show he has done more than approach Cypassis); *Met.* 15.752 (discussed by Hinds 1987b: 24–5). Here *iam* adds to the irony: even the sperm that will produce Romulus has the weight of divinity. **intra | uiscera**: O. has *intra* at the end of a hexameter, with its noun in the following verse, also at 1.485, *Met.* 13.887, *Tristia* 3.4.25.

**25–6 languida consurgit ... languida surgat**: as in 13–17 the repetition suits the sleepy atmosphere. The epithet is repeated from 22, but here implies post-coital lassitude. At the end of *Eclogue* 10 *dum sedet* (71: cf. 17 here) is followed by *surgamus*, as the poet moves from the sitting pose of the shepherd and pastoral to the more elevated stance of the farmer and didactic; so here, as Silvia rises, we move away from the erotic scene to her prophetic dream and the seriousness of the foundation of Rome. (*con*)*surgere* is used to mark an explicit move to a higher genre at *Pont.* 3.3.31–2 *nec me Maeonio consurgere carmine nec me | dicere magnorum passus es acta ducum*, Prop. 2.10.11; and carries the implicit charge at e.g. *Ep.* 16.353, *Rem.* 281. For the pairing of the compound *consurgit* with the simple *surgit*, cf. Wills 1996: 438–43, Kenney 1971 on Lucr. 3.261. **nec scit cur** ‘but does not know why’ (OLD s.v. *neque* 5). **arbore nixa**: this evokes Latona giving birth to Apollo and Diana, holding onto the sacred palm (31 n.) on Delos: *Ep.* 21.100 *qua pariens arbore nixa dea est*; *Met.* 6.335–6 *illic incumbens cum Pallados arbore palmae | edidit inuita geminos Latona nouerca* (here, as at Call. *H.* 4.262, an olive provides support too); *H.Hom.* 3.117, Theognis 5–6, Call. *H.* 4.209–10. The conception of one pair of twins is allied with the birth of another divine pair, an effect enhanced by the ambiguity of *nixa*, which can mean not only ‘leant’, but also ‘laboured’, in the sense of giving birth (as at *Met.* 9.302, 10.508). **peragit tales ... sonos** ‘runs through such an utterance’: a unique combination, though O. introduces or closes speech with both *peragere* (e.g. 5.680 *preces*, *Am.* 2.2.2 *pauca sed apta*, *Met.* 6.619 *talìa*) and *soni* (e.g. 1.100 *edidit hos ... sonos*, 6.114 *reddebat tales ... sonos*).

**27–38** O. shows awareness of details in Ilia's account of her dream in a fragment of Ennius' *Annales* (34–50, cited by Cicero, *Diu.* 1.40–1): waking from sleep is emphasized by each (*exterrita somno*, *Ann.* 35; *me somnus reliquit*, *Ann.* 50), and the rape is envisaged as happening in a similar landscape (*Ann.* 38–9) *nam me uisus homo pulcher per amoena salicta* [cf. 17] | *et ripas* [cf. 13] *raptare locosque nouos*. More tenuously in the background is the dream of Moschus' Europa, who is prepared for her sexual encounter with Zeus by her dream of two continents fighting over her (6–27): see Krevans 1993, esp. 263–6. Zeus and Europa produce Minos; Mars and Silvia the founder of another empire.

**27–8 utile sit faustumque**: the words evoke the formal prayers used by Romans to mark actions as important. Cf. Cicero, *Diu.* 1.102 *quae maiores nostri quia ualere censebant idcirco omnibus rebus agendis 'quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset' praefabantur* (and Pease 1920 *ad loc.*). Other examples include Livy 1.17.10 (the prayer at the election of Numa) *quod bonum, faustum felixque sit* (repeated at 42.30.10), and Suet. *Aug.* 58.2 (Valerius Messalla saluting the new *pater patriae* in the senate) *quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste*. The useful dactyl *utile* seems to be novel in such expressions; it replaces *bonum*, with which it is often paired. **an somno clarius illud erat?** 'Or was that clearer than sleep?' Aeneas says of his prophetic dream at *Aen.* 3.173 *nec sopor illud erat*. O. increases the links with Virgil's model, *Odyssey* 19.547 οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλὸν, ὃ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται 'not a dream, but a proper vision, which shall be accomplished', in Penelope's vision of Odysseus' return, by having a female dreamer and including reflections on the helpfulness of the vision.

**29–30 ignibus Iliacis**: the fires of Vesta were supposedly brought by Aeneas from Troy (141–2, 417–18, *Aen.* 2.296–7, 5.743–5); the epithet perhaps evokes Silvia's other name, Ilia. **lapsa ... decidit ... uitta**: after Silvia's rise (25), she describes a fall, which will in turn be followed by a rise in 32–4. The *uitta* serves as a badge of office for the Vestal Virgin, whose role is stressed by *ante sacros ... focos*. The symbolism of this fall (like that of Mars' disarmed state in 9) is drawn from Tibullus 2.5.51–4 (prophecy of the Sibyl to Aeneas):

te quoque iam uideo, Marti placitura sacerdos  
Ilia, *Vestales* deseruisse *focos*,  
concubitusque tuos *furtim uittasque iacentes*  
et cupidi ad *ripas arma relictas* dei.

**31–2 inde**: either 'then' or 'from there': the vagueness suits the recalling of a dream better than a precise decision between the *uittae* and the *foci* as the source of the manifestation. In any case the ribbons have fallen

close to the fire, so the reader, and Silvia herself, may expect flames; but it is two palm trees that appear, **uisu mirabile** ‘a wonderful thing to see’. *uisu* is the ablative of the supine regularly used to limit the sense of an adjective (G&L §436). **palmae**: at first it is not clear whether Silvia has seen hands (which come in pairs, after all) or trees. *surgunt* in verse 32 favours the tree, and the next couplet confirms this reading. The palm is a symbol of victory, and also of upright growth and beauty in the human form, as in Odysseus’ words to Nausicaa at *Od.* 6.160–3:

οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἴδον βροτὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
οὔτ’ ἄνδρ’ οὔτε γυναικα. σέβας μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.  
Δήλωι δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶι  
φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

(For I have never yet set eyes on such a mortal, neither man nor woman. Wonder overtakes me as I look at you. Once on Delos by the altar of Apollo I saw such a sight, a youthful stem of a palm springing up.)

Odysseus has previously compared Nausicaa to Artemis (Diana), daughter of Leto (Latona), and the tree is presumably to be thought of as at least a memorial of the one Leto held in giving birth to her twins (26 n.). In *O.* the palms vary a detail from Astyages’ dream in Herodotus 1.108 (11–48 n.), where it is a vine he sees growing from the loins of his daughter Mandane, and growing so big that it covers the whole of Asia (τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν): *O.* caps this, and reflects Rome’s greater empire, with his phrase *totum orbem* in 33 (cf. γῆν πᾶσαν in Xerxes’ dream at *Hdt.* 7.19.1). Clytemnestra’s dream, reported at *Soph. El.* 417–23, has Agamemnon planting his sceptre in the hearth (cf. 30), and the whole land of Mycenae covered by a bough that grows from it. Verses 33–4 suggest that *O.* may also have known the dream attributed to Atia, just before the birth of her son, the future Augustus: *Suet. Aug.* 94.4 *somniauit intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum*; cf. also the miracle reported to Augustus by the Tarraconenses at *Quint.* 6.3.77 *palmam in ara eius enatam*. **pariter ... surgunt: ex illis altera maior erat**: the paradox by which the trees rise equally (*OLD* 2), but with one growing taller than the other, expresses the relationship between Romulus (who will reach the heavens: 34) and Remus: compare the words of the man sent to expose the twins at 2.395–6 (where the pentameter again brings out a difference the hexameter had obscured): *at quam sunt similes! at quam formosus uterque!* | *plus tamen ex illis iste uigoris habet*. From *Am.* 1.1.3 on *O.* uses similar expressions in describing the elegiac couplet, which also forms a pair, but with one element larger than the other: *Am.* 2.17.21–2 *carminis hoc ipsum genus impar; sed tamen apte* | *iungitur herous cum breuiore modo*; 3.1.37–8; *Ars*



1.264; *Tristia* 2.220; *Pont.* 3.4.86. In the light of the pentameter *pariter* could be translated ‘together’ or ‘as a pair’ (*OLD* 1; cf. the twins’ response to exposure at 2.405 *uagierunt ambo pariter*), but understanding it so from the start obscures a nice paradox (so too at *Am.* 1.3.25).

**33–4 graubus ramis totum protexerat orbem:** the branches are weighed down with the responsibilities of rule, and of empire, as the second half of the line moves on from the twins to the city that will grow from what one of them founds (*protexerat* is singular: the lesser twin is left behind for now). *grauibus* implies the weight of fruit, but also of epic grandeur (cf. *Am.* 1.1.1 *Arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam | edere*; *Trist.* 2.423 *suo Martem cecinit grauis Ennius ore*; Prop. 1.9.9 *grauē dicere carmen*; Brink *ad Hor. Ars* 14). Weight is (teasingly) used as a proof of literary value already in Aristophanes, *Frogs* (especially in the weighing scene, 1365–410); in the prologue to Callimachus’ *Aetia* on the other hand gravity is disdained (fr. 1.9, 32, 35). **contigeratque sua sidera summa coma:** having covered the entire world, the palm-tree reaches the highest stars with its foliage (*OLD coma* 3). This looks to the apotheosis of Romulus (described at 2.475–512). The expression *sua coma* may suggest that there will be a Roman equivalent to the catasterism described by Callimachus at *Aetia* fr. 110, the *Lock of Berenice*, which is identified by the astronomer Conon as a new constellation. But we should think then not only of Romulus, but also of the deified Caesars, whose name is linked with *caesaries* (‘head of hair’); and Julius Caesar’s ascent into heaven is closely related to the stars (Weinstock 1971: 370–84), on coins and sculpture, and in literature (159–62; *Met.* 15.843–51; Prop. 4.6.59–60; Plin. *Nat.* 2.93–4; Virg. *Ecl.* 9.46–7, and in the allegorical versions at *Ecl.* 5.50–7 and *Aen.* 5.522–8).

**35–6 ecce:** the vivid exclamation marks a change of focus: Dionisotti 2007. Here it directs our attention from Rome’s glorious future back to more immediate threats: trees can be chopped down. Amulius, Silvia’s uncle, has usurped the throne from his brother, her father, Numitor, and tried to prevent the continuation of the family by making her a Vestal. Book 2’s passage on the Lupercal has illustrated the exposure of the twins at 381–422: this is here symbolized by Amulius’ use of *ferrum* against the palm-trees that represent the boys; this could be an axe (some clear examples are listed within the section at *TLL* s.v. *ferrum* 584.28–42, e.g. Lucilius 839 M.; *Aen.* 11.135; Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.9) or a saw, or even (with the logic of a dream) a sword. **terreor admonitu:** the dramatic effect continues, as Silvia reacts with fear to the scene she has just remembered, as if she were witnessing it for the first time.

**37–8 Martia, picus, auis:** ‘the woodpecker, Mars’ bird’ is so described by Pliny (*Nat.* 10.77, 25.29 e.g.) and in three authors cited by Nonius

Marcellus (518 M.), including Fabius Pictor (*FRHist* 1F4e *et simul uidebant picum Martium*, which is attributed to the first book *Rerum gestarum* and presumably refers to the discovery of the twins by Faustulus and his brother: cf. 53-6). *Met.* 14.320-96 tells the story of how King Picus was transformed into the bird by Circe. He will appear in human, or rather divine, form as a native deity, at 291-328. The enclosed apposition is a device particularly characteristic of O., as is noted by Solodow 1986: 141. This is apparently a unique instance in that the words comprise the first hemiepes of the hexameter; closest are *Met.* 14.833 *praecipuum, matrona, decus*; Virg. *Geo.* 4.168 *ignauum, fucos, pecus*. **pugnant:** a plural verb (or complement) can be used when there are two subjects, even when one follows the verb, the so-called *schema Alcmaticum*, as in *Met.* 8.790 *Frigus iners illic habitant Pallorque Tremorque*, Alcman fr. 2, *Odyssey* 10.513-14, Calvus fr. 21 *lingua uino temptantur et pedes* (= *FRP* 37); perhaps Virg. *Ecl.* 6.30 *Rhodope mirantur* (R: *miratur* P) *et Ismarus Orphea*. **tuta per hos utraque palma fuit:** 'the two palms were saved by them' (*OLD* s.v. *per* 15). However, the use of *utraque* encourages us to think of each tree individually; this in turn may bring us to see that *per hos* could mean 'as far as they were concerned' (*OLD* 9): the threat to one of the twins comes from a very different source – the other.

**39 dixerat** marks the end of a speech, as often in narrative (e.g. 319, 507, 685). In a text without inverted commas, this helps the reader separate speech from narrative: see 253, 703 nn. for cases where there is no such word and ambiguity results. **plenam non firmis uiribus urnam:** the realism of the narrative resumes – Silvia feels weakened by her experience, and a parenthetic explanation of *plenam* follows in the pentameter (Kenney 2002: 53 compares 4.517-18) – but at the same time symbolism continues beyond the dream: *urna* ('a narrow-necked, full bodied vessel', *OLD* 1) in this context offers an equivalent to 'womb': cf. *tumidus ... uenter* (42).

**41-2 interea:** as elsewhere in O. (465, 2.721; *Ep.* 16.89; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 4.129, and Heinze 1915: 388, n. 2), this moves the narrative on from an intense account to what happens in the subsequent period: 'in the meantime', but effectively 'next'. **crescente Remo, crescente Quirino:** the matching participles pair the twins; but the use of Romulus' name as a divinity leaves them less balanced than they might be. The name *Quirinus* has been explained at 2.475-80, at the start of the action for the festival of the Quirinalia: this account of the conception thus reminds the reader of the narrative of Romulus' ascent into heaven – or his assassination, as some thought. **caelesti tumidus pondere uenter:** the hexameter presents Romulus and Remus as 'growing' (like *surgere*, 32 n., *crescere* can be a marker of increasing generic elevation: Prop. 3.9.52 *crescet et ingenium*

*sub tua iussa meum*). Along with weight (23, 33 nn.) and swelling (595 n.), divinity is a conventional marker of epic, partly through the expected presence of gods, in imitation of Homer, but also in passages such as *Geo.* 3.16ff., 4.562, where Virgil looks ahead to the *Aeneid*.

**43–4 quominus emeritis exiret cursibus annus | restabant nitido iam duo signa deo:** ‘to keep the year from completing its course and passing on, just two signs [of the zodiac] remained for the shining god’ (i.e. the sun: cf. 2.149, *Met.* 14.33 *nitidi ... Solis*, 15.30). The Roman method of counting inclusively means that pregnancy often gets treated as lasting ten months, rather than nine. This is easier to understand than some instances of inclusive counting: the child conceived in March should be born in December, leaving two months to complete the year – in this case, precisely the two months that Romulus himself left out of his calendar, reasoning partly from the length of human pregnancy (124). Normally, the substance of the couplet (‘ten months had passed’) would be expressed in a temporal clause attached to *Silvia fit mater* (45), but the paratactic construction here allows space for reflection on matters calendrical. O. himself has *quominus* with *obstare* (*Ars* 2.720 *non obstet tangas quominus illa pudor*, ‘don’t let embarrassment prevent you from touching them [the places that give a woman pleasure]’); there seems to be no other example with *restare*, but O. was perhaps influenced by the overlap with *resistere* (cf. *Sen. N.Q.* 2.9.3 *non aquam sibi resistere, quominus mergantur, sed spiritum*; *Tac. Hist.* 4.66 *quominus ultra [Civilis] pergeret, Claudius Labeo ... restitit*).

**45–6 Silvia fit mater; Vestae ... | uirgineas:** when Silvia’s name appeared at first (11), she was *Vestalis*. Her change of status is brought out by the juxtaposition *mater Vestae*, and *uirgineas* beneath *Silvia*. **Vestae simulacra feruntur | uirgineas oculis opposuisse manus:** *feruntur* seems at first to be showing respect to the ban on male entry into Vesta’s shrine (6.253–4, esp. *nec fueras aspicienda uiro: oculis* here may evoke the ban on sight that is stressed there). However, *certe* (‘at any rate’) in 47 undoes this by marking a confident announcement of what happened. Such attributions of narrative detail to unspecified others have been called ‘Alexandrian footnotes’; often we know to what text the poet is referring, but not here, perhaps through loss of a model. But the most profound play concerns the notion of *Vestae simulacra*: at 6.295–8 O. will tell us that, contrary to his earlier belief (as expressed here), there are no images of Vesta. *feruntur* thus conveys the sense ‘people say – but they are wrong’; and the effect is enhanced by the fact that these non-existent images are given eyes and hands. Similar is the reaction of the image of Servius Tullius to the presence of his patricidal daughter: *dicitur hoc oculis opposuisse manus* (6.614).

**47–8 ara deae certe ... et ... flamma:** assertion about the reaction within the shrine is limited to the things O. knows to be there, the altar and the

fire. They respond to the unwonted intrusion of maternity as the goddess herself might, with fear and horror, the altar shivering, the fire hiding away as best it can, as if extinguished (143 n.). On *certe* used to mark a return to the main narrative after uncertainty, see Oakley on Livy 7.9.6. **subiit cineres territa flamma suos** ‘terrified the flame sank beneath the ash it had produced’: a striking phrase without close parallels.

**49–78** From the birth myth we pass through a synopsis of the twins’ early life till we reach the moment when the city is founded and Romulus establishes its calendar by naming the first month in honour of his father. In passing swiftly over all the events bar this final one O. plays with their familiarity and exploits the presence of versions elsewhere in the *Fasti*; mainly these come in other books, but verses 49–54 continue the fulfilment of Silvia’s dream, begun when she gives birth at Vesta’s hearth. The narrative has started at 9 as if an illustration of what Mars can do *inermis*, but O. here reveals its purpose, to explain why *Martius*, once first month of the year, was so called (Murgatroyd 2005: 280–2).

**49–52 contemptor ... aequi** ‘as a man who scorns what is just’ (though it is not clear that the Romans would have expected any baby that happened to be born to a Vestal to survive: D.H. *Rom.* 1.78.5 speaks of ‘following the law’). **nam** frequently opens parentheses in Ovid, clearly marking that the following clause is not the awaited main clause, but an explanation of the circumstances. The presence of the parenthesis here makes for an unusual continuation of the sentence, carried over into verse 51, and effective in throwing emphasis on the heinous orders of the tyrant. **raptas fratri** ‘stolen from his brother’, *fratri* being dative of disadvantage. **uictor** implies a conflict between the two brothers in which Amulius has been successful. **opes** ‘power’, but also the ‘resources’ (*OLD* 3) that enable him to have his will carried out by henchmen. The exposure of the twins during a flood, the grounding of their cot, and the sustenance then offered by the she-wolf has been described at 2.381–422 in the action for the Lupercal, the ‘wolf’s den’ at the foot of the Palatine where they were found. There the pity of Amulius’ men is stressed (2.387–404), though they still carry out their instructions. Here the very water of the Tiber avoids the crime of infanticide. As that passage gives a longer version of the exposure story, so it also begins with a contracted account of the birth myth, and the two passages are carefully knit together by shared diction, especially obvious in 2.383–5: *Silvia Vestalis* (= 3.11) *caelestia* (42) *semina* (10) *partu / ediderat, patruo regna tenente suo* (≈ 50); | *is iubet* (51) *auferri paruos et in amne* (51) *necari*. A number of words in 51–4 are also shared with Livy’s account of the exposure: 1.4.3 *iubet*; 4 *mergi*; 6 *expositi ... pueri, in sicco ... destituisset*, though only the last overlap is at all striking.

**53–4 quis ... nescit?** A common rhetorical question, implying here that everyone in the world knows the story of Romulus and Remus. It functions as a form of *praeteritio*, explaining why the author does not linger on the topic: so, e.g. Virg. *Geo.* 3.3–5 *cetera ... | omnia iam uulgata: | quis aut Eurysthea durum aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?* O., ahead of 55–6, echoes Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.9 *quis Faustulum nescit pastorem fuisse nutricium, qui Romulum et Remum educauit?* **picum:** the woodpecker's place in the story and in plastic representations such as coins is far less prominent than the wolf's, though it features in the later accounts of Plutarch (*Rom.* 4.2) and pseudo-Aurelius Victor (*Orig.* 20.4) and was presumably already in Fabius Pictor (37 n.). **cibos:** the provision of solid food suggests a story that has the wild upbringing of the babies lasting months or years – but these are the children of a god and thus liable to mature rapidly, like Mercury or Hercules.

**55–8 non ego ... nec taceam:** after the universal knowledge of 53–4 the poet turns to his own part in communicating the story. Acca Larentia and Faustulus will appear again mourning Remus at 4.854 and 5.451–78. But despite *ueniet* (57) December and the account of the Larentalia never arrive: the subjunctive *taceam*, which may at first seem equivalent to Catullus' *non possum reticere* (68.41), proves to be a true hypothetical. Feeney 1992: 17–18 and n. 73 draws out the symbolism of this marked silence over the final festival of the year. **tantae nutrix Larentia gentis:** Larentia was foster-mother of the twins and thus of the Romans; but there is also a hint at the story that she was the *lupa*, a prostitute who nurtured the boys. The *Fasti Praenestini* for 23 December, the date of the Larentalia, report as follows: 'Accae Larentin[ae] parentalia fiunt.] hanc alii Remi et Rom[uli] nutricem, alii] meretricem Herculis scortum [fuisse dic]unt. parentari ei publice quod p(opulum) R(omanum) he[redem fece]rit magnae pecuniae quam accepe[rat testame]nto Tarutili amatoris sui.' Her role as *tantae nutrix ... gentis* can thus evoke the bequest to the Roman people of her own inheritance from Tarutilius, and the pentameter supports this interpretation in describing Faustulus as 'poor' while mentioning their 'wealth'. Plutarch's account of the exposure includes digressions (*Rom.* 4.3–5) on the ambiguity of *lupa* and on Larentia as the lover of Heracles and the man whose wealth was bequeathed to the Roman people, Tarrutius (as he is there called; other variants appear in Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.10.11–17 = *FRHist* 5F16, 27F2). **opes:** used with the sense '(lack of) wealth', i.e. poverty, also at 2.302, Prop. 3.7.46, Calpurnius, *Ecl.* 4.34 *nostras miseratus opes*, but here with an additional point, as we have seen. Some (e.g. Frazer, Stok) understand it as meaning 'help', but the singular is usual for that sense (*OLD* 5), and the juxtaposition with *pauper* helps confirm the meaning. **uester honos ueniet:** the festival follows

later in the year, in December, and so, O. promises, will his own honouring of them, with a fuller account of their story: for the equation of poem and year see also 2.122, 6.773. **acceptus geniis:** offerings to the *genius* of forebears are described in the aetion for the *dies Parentales* or *Feralia* in February (2.545–8); the rites for *Larentia* in December were thought of as analogous (cf. *parentari* in the *Fasti Praenestini* entry, cited above, and likewise at Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.23; *parentalia* at Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.10.17) – one may note that December replaced February as the final month of the year. But the phrase seems to have been chosen to combine with this a reference to the pleasure of partying during the *Saturnalia*, ‘welcome to one’s sense of enjoyment or good spirits’ (cf. *OLD genius* 1b; and *genialis*, e.g. at 3.523); for this aspect of December see Stat. *Silu.* 1.6.4–8, Juv. 7.97, and especially Ausonius, *Ecl.* (XIV) 2.12 *tu gentilem hiemem, feste December, agis* (echoing Virg. *Geo.* 1.302 *genialis hiems*; verse 4 *fetiferum Aprilem uindicat alma Venus* alludes to *Fasti* 4.1, 90).

**59–60 Martia ... proles** ‘the offspring of Mars’, collective singular. The stress on the god continues for now: after eight instances of *Mars* or *Martius* in the first 88 lines, there will be only five in the rest of the book. **ter senos ... annos:** while the reader’s attention has been diverted to *Larentia*, *Faustulus*, and December, eighteen years have quickly slipped by, described through a multiple, as is usual with numbers above ten in Latin verse. The same age appears in the narrative of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom.* 1.79.12). **suberat flauae iam noua barba comae** ‘a beard was now newly appearing beneath their blond hair’. As *coma* normally means the hair on the head, *comae* must be taken as dative with *suberat* not genitive with *barba*. The point seems to be that maturity was now added to their attractive appearance: *flauus* (or *flauens*) of hair is associated with divine or heroic status at e.g. 5.609, *Am.* 1.15.35, *Ep.* 12.11, *Cat.* 64.98, Virg. *Aen.* 4.559, 590.

**61–2** The beginnings of Rome are set among countryfolk, as was traditional (Sall. *Cat.* 6.1, Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.9, D.H. *Rom.* 1.79.6–11, Virg. *Geo.* 2.513–35, *Aen.* 7, 8.360–1, Tib. 2.5.23–38, Prop. 4.1.1–30); but *omnibus* gives a note of universality and *iura dare* (loosely ‘to rule’, but implying both the establishing of laws [*OLD* s.v. *ius*<sup>2</sup> 3b] and the delivery of judgments [4a]) is in the *Aeneid* a repeated image of the early stages of a city’s foundation (Dido at 1.507, Aeneas at 3.137, Acestes at 5.758), and it also appears as an image of Augustan peace in Jupiter’s prophecy at 1.292–3 *Remo cum fratre Quirinus | iura dabunt*; O. himself uses the phrase of Romulus at 1.38, 2.492, *Met.* 14.806. Scholars have explored at length the oddities of the Remus and Romulus narratives, most concentratedly Wiseman 1995. Here the brothers are presented as ruling informally, and together, before the establishment of the city: we may see Rome as coming

into existence through consolidation of their natural authority, or else notice the further disruption of the canonical narrative (9 n.). **Iliadae**

**fratres**: in extant usage the epithet is first applied to Romulus and Remus by O. himself (*Am.* 3.4.40). It suggests their Trojan descent (thus it is used of Ganymede at *Met.* 10.160); but also evokes their mother's alternative name *Ilia* (Barchiesi 1997a: 172–3). **petita** brings out the way the

brothers were sought out for advice and arbitration; cf. 1.516 *iuraque ab hac terra cetera terra petet?* and *uolentes* in Virgil's account of Augustus at *Geo.* 4.561–2 *uolentes | per populos dat iura*.

**63–4** reprise the narrative at 2.361–80, where the brothers interrupt their sacred sports when a herdsman warns them that *praedones* (370) are rustling cattle; they run off in pursuit, still naked. Remus and his followers recover the cattle, and enjoy the sacrificial meat when they return first: Romulus smiles when he finds out but is upset too (*risit et indoluit*, 377), and readers have seen the snub as a symbol of the imminent breach between the twins. The event apparently featured in Ennius' first book (*Ann.* 69–71). **saepe** turns it into a commonplace (so Livy 1.4.9; cf. D.H. *Rom.* 1.79.12). **sanguine laeti**: a detail not found in book 2, where there is no mention of bloodshed, never mind delight in it. *sanguine* prevents us reading life before Rome as a pastoral idyll, undisturbed by violent conflict.

**redigunt actos in sua rura boues** 'they drive back to their own land cattle that had been driven off' or 'they drive back cattle that had been driven off to their [i.e. the cattle's] own land'? Though readers may expect Romulus and Remus to be presented as men of honour, the placing of *in sua rura* between *actos* and *boues* better suits the latter version. In any case the play between *redigunt* and *actos* gives an impression of a society where rustling is common and mutual (Barchiesi 1997a: 158, n. 29).

**65–8 ut genus audiērunt** 'when they heard <of> their origin'. The substance of what is heard is commonly found as the object of *audire* when it is conveyed by a neuter pronoun (e.g. *Ep.* 9.119) or as the subject of the passive (e.g. *Met.* 9.581); an earlier example of this extension of usage is found at *Ars* 2.403 *audierat, Lynesi, tuos, abducta, dolores* (TLL s.v. *audio* 1271.74–1273.29, OLD 8a–b include some examples from other authors). The elegists commonly treat the *e*, normally long, as short, especially in words such as *audierunt* and *compulerunt* (860) that would otherwise not scan: see Platnauer 1951: 53–4, Heyworth 2007: 144. **animos pater editus auget** 'the revelation of their father increases their pride'. *animos auget* indicates that they were already youths of 'spirit', as 60–4 have implied. For *editus* in this sense ('announced', 'revealed'), see *Met.* 8.449 *simul est auctor necis editus*; active forms of the verb are used for Clymene's announcement of Phaëthon's identity at *Met.* 1.761, 2.43. Other examples

of the *pater editus* construction (Woodcock 1959: §95) occur in book 3 at 439, 720, 744, 884. Recognition of a lost child is a frequent scene in ancient drama (e.g. Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 924–1185, Euripides, *Ion* 1320–1508, Plautus, *Rudens* 1045–1183; cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 11), and it is likely that this narrative appeared first in a lost play, with the information conveyed to Romulus by Faustulus (Livy 1.5.5, D.H. *Rom.* 1.80.3–4, [Aur. Vict.] *Orig.* 21.4) or by Numitor to one or both (D.H. *Rom.* 1.84.8, cf. Livy 1.5.6); the revelation quickly leads to the killing of the usurper, and Plutarch, *Rom.* 8.7 describes the narrative as δραματικὸν καὶ πλάσματῶδες ('theatrical and fictitious'), as Wiseman observes (1994: 5; see also 1995: 129–44). We know of plays (or a play) by the third-century poet Naevius entitled *Romulus* and *Lupus* (a potentially feminine noun at that period). It is knowledge of what happened to their mother and grandfather that is vital to the immediate action, the killing of Amulius in 67, but Mars matters for the longer run, to motivate the naming of the first month and so bring to its culmination the narrative begun in verse 11. **nomen habere** 'to have fame', 'to be known'. **in paucis ... casis** 'in a hamlet', rather than the walled city that will be founded in 69: both the adjective 'few' and the noun 'cottages' accentuate the insignificance of their home before Rome. *casa* is used to similar effect at 1.199, 502, 4.516, 526, 5.94, 500, *Ep.* 5.16 *humili casa*, *Met.* 5.282–3 *subiere minores | saepe casas superi*; and primitive huts with thatched roofs still preserved in Ovid's day on the Palatine and the Capitol were each described as *casa Romuli* (D.H. *Rom.* 1.79.11, Vitruvius 2.1.5). **Romuleoque**: the twins now start to be separated, with Romulus given the more prominent role here before Remus' *faux pas* in the next couplet. The *que* links the action closely to the motivating pride and shame in 65–6. **cadit ... ense**: Ursini points out the echo at 4.55 *ense cadit patruī Lausus*: Amulius' murder of Silvia's brother provides another reason for the assassination here. **traiectus ... restituuntur**: both the bloodshed and the restitution recall the habitual activities of 63–4. **auo** i.e. Numitor, Silvia's father. Though they restore power to their grandfather, they do not wait to inherit his kingdom; nor does one become Numitor's heir while the other goes off to found a new city: pride and ambition are shared motives. Plutarch too has them unwilling to live as subjects in Alba or to replace their grandfather before his death (*Rom.* 9.1), while in Dionysius it is Numitor himself who urges them to set up their own city, taking away any undesirables from Alba (*Rom.* 1.85.1–2).

**69–70 moenia conduntur**: through a common synecdoche, manifest at 4.80 where *Sulmonis moenia* are what the Trojan Solymus gave his name to, this could mean simply 'a city was founded' (so e.g. *Aen.* 1.264, 276–7); but the walls themselves are vital to what follows. The founding of the



city will be narrated in detail for the Parilia (4.807–58), where O. gives an unorthodox account, attributing the killing of Remus not to Romulus himself (the story implied at 2.143 *te Remus incusat*), but to Celer, carrying out the founder's instructions to put to death anyone attempting to cross the walls (4.837–44). **quamuis** is found ten times in the *Fasti*, of which seven (including verse 393) are with the indicative, as here. The point seems to be to concede as fact that the walls were small – but even so Remus should not have leapt over them. **non tamen expediit transiisse Remo**: a shocking understatement for the death that resulted from Remus' leap, the effect increased by the mannered pleonasm of *tamen* after the short concessive clause. The impersonal *expedit* ('it is useful') is a verb O. uses to strong effect also at *Ars* 1.637 *expedit esse deos, et, ut expedit, esse putemus*, and 3.95 *et tamen ulla uiro mulier 'non expedit' inquit?* Verse 41 has the only other instance of Remus' name in the book: he appears there in parallel with his brother in order to be born, here on his own to die.

**71–2** For Rome standing where once was pasture, see e.g. 1.243–4 *hic, ubi nunc Roma est, incaedua silua uirebat | tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat*, 5.93–4 (plus most of the passages cited on 61–2). **iam modo** are best taken separately, *iam* ('now') with *urbs erat*, *modo* ('recently') in the relative clause, with *fuerant*. **siluae**: a word that Virgil uses to characterize his pastoral poetry, from *Ecl.* 1.1–5 on, especially in 4.3 *si canimus siluas, siluae sint consule dignae* and 6.2 *nostra neque erubuit siluas habitare Thalea*. Suddenly the site of Rome is transformed: what had been a pastoral place becomes a city, somewhere with pretensions to future power and a calendar. **pecorumque recessus**: *pecus* also occurs seventeen times in the *Eclogues*; though this is not surprising in itself, some instances bear significant generic weight, such as 1.74 *ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae*, the *cuium pecus?* of 3.1, repeated in 5.87, and 10.17 *nec te paeniteat pecoris, diuine poeta*. On the other hand, *recessus* is a word of high style in verse, used by Ovid repeatedly in the *Met.* of temples, palaces, and the abodes of gods. However, the only instance prior to Ovid in Augustan poetry came at *Aeneid* 8.193, of Cacus' cave, where Hercules' cattle were hidden, a usage O. reprises at *Fasti* 1.555: this adds another element to the landscape that is transformed by the creation of the city. **aeternae ... urbis**: immediately the city becomes *Roma aeterna*, in phrasing that echoes Tib. 2.5.23–4 *Romulus aeternae nondum formauerat urbis | moenia, consorti non habitanda Remo*; for the concept see Ogilvie on Livy 4.4.4, Pratt 1965, Isaac 2017: 33–44. **pater urbis**: For Romulus as *pater patriae* see 2.133–44, where he serves as a tarnished foil for Augustus in the same role, or rather as *pater orbis* (2.130).

**73–6** Where one might have expected an announcement of plans for conquest or the building of a temple, the creation of place, the *urbs*,

is followed by Romulus' arrangement of time, the year: we may compare the creation of first place (1.21–31), then time (1.113–24) in the *Metamorphoses*. The founder's publication of the calendar has been mentioned already at 1.27–42. **arbiter armorum** 'governor [OLD 3] of warfare', cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.15 (the South Wind) *arbiter Hadriae*, Sen. *Herc. F.* 205 *magne Olympi rector et mundi arbiter*, Tro. 1070 (Priam) *arbiter belli*, rather than 'judge of battles' as at Hor. *Carm.* 3.20.11 *arbiter pugnae*. **credor et, ut credar, pignora multa dabo**: Romulus himself casts doubt on his parentage (as many future writers will too, including O. at 4.57–8), and offers a pledge of future martial behaviour as a programme for his reign, and for the book, a programme fulfilled in its early stages, at 103–4, 277, and especially 197–8, where it is explicitly inspiration from Mars that leads to the rape of the Sabine women. There is a nice inversion of the phrasing in *Met.* 2 (38, 91), where it is Phoebus who gives *pignora* that he is Phaëthon's father. The association of Roman military might with the father of the founder appears in Livy's preface (7), and can be dated back as far as a third- or early second-century BC inscription erected on the Aegean island Chios (*SEG XVI.486*; see Albertson 2012: 22, 53). **a te principium**: Romulus places Mars in the honoured position more commonly taken by Jupiter: compare Virgil's imitation at *Ecl.* 3.60 *Ab Ioue principium* of the opening of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα (also found at Theoc. 17.1); Ovid himself has *ab Ioue surgat opus* at 5.111. Virgil had already written *a te principium* in his own reworking, addressed to an unnamed Roman leader at *Ecl.* 8.11. **dicimus**: a performative utterance (as *uox rata* in 77 also suggests) – when Romulus speaks, the month is named. There is an oddity, however: it should be the current month if there is not to be a gap between the founding of the city and the start of its first year. Yet Rome's birthday was the Parilia (21st April), as O. will tell at 4.807–58, and Censorinus in the third century AD reports that years were counted from that date (*ex Parilibus, unde urbis anni numerantur*, 21.6). On that basis March was the last month. Either then this is to be thought of as a delayed formation of the calendar, or an announcement of the name the first month will have when it eventually arrives – presumably spring was the traditional season for initiating the year. **a te ... nomine mensis**: an echo of verse 4 *a te qui canitur nomina mensis habet*; this marks the completion of the indirect aetiology of the month, but also adds to the sarcasm of the earlier line: Mars apparently could not remember his son's words.

**77–8 dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo**: Mars is pleased by the honour, and, as fits his character in the opening lines of the book, does not notice that his month was neither Rome's beginning, nor in the long run the start of the Roman calendar. Given that it is unlikely the god's response

was noted elsewhere, *dicitur* is not here to be read as an ‘Alexandrian footnote’; rather it gives O. the chance to describe the internal thoughts of a divinity without claiming personal knowledge.

**79–98** Having given an explanation that is at once simple (Romulus gave Mars, his supposed father, first month in the year) and provocative (where does the concept of the year and the naming of the months come from?), O. shows that Mars could already be seen as the patron deity of Latium (81–8), and that there was in the area an existing concept of the year, with months named in honour of gods including Mars (87–96). What Romulus did was to create a new order that increased the honour paid to his father (98) as well as giving even higher priority than his predecessors and neighbours did to the cultivation of warfare (79–80, 97). This is one of the places where O. is likely to be building on the researches of Verrius, condensed into the form we know from the *Fasti Praenestini* (Degrassi 1963: 121): *Martius ab Latinorum [deo bel]landi itaque apud Albanos et plerosque [p]opulos Lati[n]os idem fuit ante conditam Romam; ut a[u]tem alii cre[du]nt quod ei sacra fiunt hoc mense*. O. stresses the identity of Mars as god of war (85–6) and explores his presence in calendars of Latium and beyond, but in what follows denies Mars any further *sacra* (850 n.).

**79–80 et tamen** ‘and yet’: the conjunctions mark how the coming passage both continues and corrects what has preceded. **ante omnes Martem coluere priores** at first sight apparently ‘his predecessors worshipped Mars before all’: this turns out to be untrue, for the list at 89–96 shows that neither Alba Longa nor other neighbouring states gave Mars first place in the year, whereas Romulus did so, as 75–6 has stressed. Probably we should see O. as playing between the literal and idiomatic senses (‘above all’) of *ante omnes*; but he has also constructed the verse so that we might translate instead ‘previously all his predecessors worshipped Mars’ (Tib. 1.3.10 *dicitur ante omnes consuluisse deos* likewise separates *ante omnes*). For such play, see Sen. Ag. 382 *tuque ante omnes, pater et rector* (Jupiter is addressed last in the hymn), Virg. *Aen.* 4.59, 5.570. **hoc** i.e. worship of Mars, in particular (as 87–96 show) naming months after him. **studiis bellica turba suis**: *suis* (‘pursuits particular to them’, ‘enthusiasms that suit their nature’) implies that *bellica* can be applied also to *studiis*: so Cic. *Rep.* 2.25 (on Numa’s religious policies) *hominesque Romanos instituto Romuli bellicis studiis ut uidit incensos, existimauit eos paulum ab illa consuetudine esse reuocandos* (a passage that lies behind 277–84), and Virgil describes Carthage as *studiis asperrima belli* (*Aen.* 1.14). For such a use of *suis*, cf. Prop. 3.13.16 *quos Aurora suis rubra colorat aquis*, where *suis* implies *rubris*, i.e. the waters of the *mare Rubrum*. *turba* evokes the peoples that worshipped Mars, and the large number of them (87–96), but also suggests perhaps the disorder of their constant fighting (as recounted in the early books of Livy).

**81–4:** a priamel, a sequence of statements about other people that throws emphasis on the climactic statement about the central figure (here Mars, in 85). The point is that just as many places in the Greek world had patron deities, so central Italy worshipped Mars and could expect his support. Since Mars is presented as appropriate to Latium, we might look for a subordinate notion that the deities suited their protectorates in Greece. The diction of the lines is appropriately Greek. **Pallada**

**Cecropidae:** as in each clause of the sentence, we need to supply *colunt* (or *colit*) from *colit*, 82 (similarly *habe(n)t* in 93–4). *Cecropidae* are ‘descendants of Cecrops, early king of Athens’, hence ‘Athenians’ (as *Aeneadae* are ‘Romans’ already at Lucr. 1.1); the word appears first at *Aen.* 6.21, and eight times in *O.* *Pallada* is the Greek accusative form of *Pallas*, i.e. Pallas Athena: her gift of the olive tree won her the patronage of Athens, as was recounted with characteristic brevity at least twice in Callimachus, in *Iambus* 4 (fr. 194.66–8 Pfeiffer) and in a now fragmentary portion of the *Hecale* (fr. 70.10–11 Hollis), as well as at *Met.* 6.70–82 (an ecphrasis of Pallas’ tapestry woven in the contest with Arachne). **Minoia**

**Creta Dianam:** Diana’s association with Crete depends on her identification with Britomartis, a nymph with whom Minos fell in love, according to Callimachus in his Hymn to Artemis (= Diana), 3.189–200. The king pursued her across the wilds until she jumped from a cliff and was caught in the nets (δίκτυα) of some fishermen, as a result of which she gained the name Dictynna. The episode ends (204–5) with an address to Artemis claiming that the Cretans call her too ‘Dictynna’ after the nymph. *Dictynna* is the title given by Cinna, *FRP* 14, to a lost poem of the neoteric poet Valerius Cato, whereas Suetonius, citing Cinna’s line, calls the poem *Diana*. The two names came to be used interchangeably in Latin, e.g. at 6.755, *Met.* 2.441, *Ciris* 305, *FRP* 235.2. With the epithet *Minoia* *O.* thus evokes Callimachus’ story, and compensates for the comparative unfamiliarity of the cult. It may also be relevant that poets (e.g. Virgil at *Aen.* 4.69–73) regularly link Crete with hunting and archery, both aspects of Diana’s role (Tibullus at 1.4.25 speaks of Dictynna’s arrows). **Vulcanum tellus**

**Hypsipyloea:** Hypsipyle was the queen of Lemnos with whom Jason had an affair (Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.607–921 and *Ov. Ep.* 6); the island was the major cult centre for Hephaestus, Vulcan’s Greek equivalent, as was natural given its volcanic activity; *Iliad* 1.593 mentions it as the place he landed when thrown from heaven by Zeus, and his care for it appears at *Odyssey* 8.283–4 and Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.851. **Iunonem Sparte Pelopeïadesque**

**Mycenae:** at *Iliad* 4.51–2 Hera (equivalent to the Latin Juno) says ‘There are three cities that I love above all, Argos and Sparta and Mycenae with its broad streets’. She mentions all three at 6.47 (and adds others) when laying claim to the month of June. The literary identification of the goddess with the cities of the eastern Peloponnese was based on the importance

of her shrine, the Heraion, which was close to Mycenae. Sparta too had a temple of the goddess (Pausanias 3.13.8). The form *Spartē* (as opposed to the commoner *Spartā*) is first found at Prop. 3.14.1; each has a Greek equivalent. *Pelopeïades* brings out the goddess's support for the grandsons of Pelops, Menelaus, king of Sparta, and Agamemnon, king of Mycenae; the only other occurrence of the epithet is at *Met.* 6.414 *Argosque et Sparte Pelopeïadesque Mycenae*. **Maenalis ora** 'the region [OLD 3] of Maenalus' i.e. Arcadia.

**pinigerum Fauni ... caput**: Faunus, an old Latin country deity (291 n.), associated with hills, woods, and fertility, came to be treated as the equivalent of Pan (who is pluralized on occasion, like the Fauni). Unlike most of the Olympians, Pan's name was available for use in Latin, as at 2.271–8, on the god's origin in Arcadia (*Ecl.* 4.58–9, 10.26), whence (O. says) he was brought to Rome by Evander and became the god of the Luperalia. Four mountains of Arcadia are mentioned at 2.273–6, along with a river and a lake, but not Maenalus: that is a frequent reference point for Pan's home, however, e.g. at Theoc. *Id.* 1.124, Virg. *Geo.* 1.17, and for Arcadia more generally, e.g. at *Ecl.* 10.14–15, where it is described as *pinifer* (cf. *Ecl.* 8.21–4), just as other hills in Arcadia are *cincta pinetis* at *Fasti* 2.275. The head of Pan or Faunus itself bears pine, i.e. a wreath of pine, also at 1.412, *Ep.* 5.137–8 *cornigerumque caput pinu praecinctus acuta* | *Faunus*, *Met.* 1.699, 14.638, Lucr. 4.587. Here the symbol links him with his wooded home territory, but in other places it marks his love for the nymph Pitys, the Greek for 'pine', into which she was transformed: Prop. 1.18.20, Longus 1.27.2, 2.7.6, implicitly *Met.* 1.699 (cf. Syrinx).

**85–6 Mars ... uenerandus** 'Mars was appropriate for veneration', with a pun on the name of Rome's other ancestral deity, Venus, his lover at *Odyssey* 8.266–366 and Lucr. 1.31–40, and with whom he will be paired repeatedly in the introduction to book 4 (25–8, 57, 129–30) as well as in the temple of Mars Ultor (*Trist.* 2.295–6). O. has plays on cognates of *ueneror* also at *Rem.* 549 *templum uenerabile* (of the temple of Venus Erycina) and *Met.* 13.625 (Aeneas carrying Anchises) *fert umeris uenerabile onus Cythereius heros*.

**armis; | arma**: repetition of a word from the end of one line at the beginning of the next is discussed by Wills 1996: 394–7; this example works to add the detail that justifies the opening statement of 85 – just as Mars presides over warfare, so warfare controlled life in Latium. The importance of warfare in primitive Latium might seem at odds with the earlier stress on the pastoral nature of the society (61–2, 71–2 nn.); but the paradox is one repeatedly brought out by the tradition, in the *Aeneid* throughout book 7, e.g., in the speech of Remulus Numanus (9.598–620) and the character of Camilla (11.567–86), or at Prop. 4.1.21–32, 4.4.1–20, and 4.10.17–22. **remque decusque dabant**: as the reader has seen, fighting secured property (*res*, OLD 1) in

the conflict over cattle (63–4); the existence of the state (*res*, OLD 16) and fame (*decus*) have been won in the same way (61–70), and in what follows arms will give the first Romans their wives (198 *quod petis arma dabunt*).

**87–8 quod si forte uacas, ... inspice:** as is common in didactic poetry, this can be taken as an address to the reader in general, or to the dedicatee, i.e. Germanicus or Augustus: for the latter possibility, cf. 2.17–18 *ergo ades et placido paulum mea munera uultu | respice, pacando siquid ab hoste uacat*. The use of *uacat* in verse 6 may also be brought to mind: Minerva, who has time for *ingenuae artes* as well as war, offers a model not only to Mars, but also to the Caesars. The same word is used with reference to another god at *Trist.* 2.216 *non uacat exiguis rebus adesse Ioui* as part of the argument exculpating Augustus for his lack of real attention to the *Ars Amatoria*. When we reach *erit* in the pentameter, we find that the imperative *inspice* functions as an alternative to a conditional clause, *si inspicias*: cf. 7–8, 450 nn. Here the construction allows Ovid to adjoin the polite *si forte uacas*. **peregrinos ... fastos:** though the poem's opening line has spoken of *Tempora ... Latium digesta per annum*, the implication that he has simply the Roman calendar in mind is here given clear support: exploration of 'foreign' *fasti* barely takes him out of Latium. Most of the little we know on the topic is gathered by Whatmough 1931. The line is echoed by *Pont.* 1.1.3–4 *si uacat, hospitio peregrinos, Brute, libellos | excipe*, where the 'foreign books' are O.'s own, sent, like the *Fasti* themselves, all the way from Tomi: events have radically changed the force of *peregrini*.

**89–96** The list does a confused circuit of major peoples around Rome, starting to the south east with Alba (89; reprised along with the neighbouring Latin cities Aricia and Tusculum in 91–2), then Falerii in Etruria (89; north) and the Hernici (90; east-south-east); the Laurentes (93; another Latin people, who lived in the coastal region south of Ostia), the Aequi (93; east-north-east) and Cures, a Sabine city north east of Rome (94), which is paired up with the Paeligni, O.'s home territory, further east, in 95–6. The placing of the month of Mars varies between the third and tenth position in these calendars, but as Bailey points out in a thoughtful note we do not know how many months each had, nor when the year began. There is a similar passage at 6.59–64, where Juno tells the poet to inspect the calendars of neighbouring towns which had a month dedicated to her; but nothing is said there about the order. One suspects that O. relies on a source such as Varro or Verrius, who may in any case have aligned these other calendars with the Roman one – but if so did they begin with March or with January?

The list starts in an orderly fashion (*tertius ... quintus ... | sextus*), before the indirect reprise of 'third' in 91–2 and repetition of *quintus* in

93, followed by the teasing *bis quintum* and *a tribus ... primum*. Ovid also achieves variety here with the movement between peoples (89, 91, 93–6) and places (90, 92) and a calendar (*Albanaque tempora*, 91); amidst the plurals for peoples he uses a collective (*turba Curensis*, 94) and collective singulars (93, 95); we find datives to express ownership of the calendar (89, 96), then prepositional phrases (90–2), then nominatives, and he complicates the structure still further with vocatives in 90 and 95. The passage establishes an implicit alternative to the main aetiology here: March came first in the Roman calendar because Mars was the most honoured god of the area; similarly Censorinus, *de Die Natali* 22.11 *itaque Martium mensem a Marte quidem nominatum credit* [i.e. Varro], *non quia Romuli fuerit pater, sed quod gens Latina bellicosa*.

**89–92 ille:** This could pick up *mensis* (i.e. *Martius*) from 88, but nominative pronouns more commonly mark a change of subject, and the parallel phrasing in 96 *huic genti quartus utrique deus* has Mars as subject.

**Faliscis** ‘the people of Falerii’, a town in Etruria, but purportedly founded by Agamemnon’s son Halaesus. One of Ovid’s wives came from the town, and in *Amores* 3.13 he describes the ritual for Juno performed there.

**inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constat** ‘there is agreement between the people of Aricia [above Lago di Nemi in the Alban Hills] and the Alban calendar’. Though *Aricinos, Albana tempora* and *moenia* in 92 do not match, the sense is easy to follow.

**facta ... Telegoni moenia celsa manu:** Tusculum, another town up in the Alban Hills, was reputedly founded by Telegonus, son of Circe and Odysseus (‘born’ when his father was ‘far away’, τῆλε in Greek); the story of how Telegonus killed Odysseus in ignorance of his identity was told in the *Telegony*, final part of the Homeric cycle. Mention of Tusculum in the Augustan poets repeatedly comes through reference to its founder: 4.71, Hor. *Epod.* 1.30, *Carm.* 3.29.8, Prop. 2.32.4.

**93–6 bis quintum** i.e. ‘tenth’: the phrase recurs at 124, and in Manilius (4.465; *ter quintus* appears in 4.455, 461, 466) and Pliny (*Nat.* 6.213). Ovid has *bis tertius* at *Pont.* 4.10.1.

**Aequiculus asper:** the Aequi occupied the hill country east of Rome. The epithet (‘tough’, ‘fierce’) is associated with war at e.g. 2.516 *aspera bella*, and when used in Virgil’s catalogue at *Aen.* 7.647 (Mezentius), 7.729 *Saticulus asper*. It thus evokes the reputation the Aequi gained in wars fought against Rome in the fifth and fourth centuries (Cic. *Rep.* 2.36 *magnam gentem et ferocem et rebus populi Romani imminuentem*, Livy 5.54.5, *Aen.* 7.744–9), and resumes the emphasis on warfare as characteristic of the area (so too *miles Paeligne*, 95).

**a tribus ... primum** ‘first after (*OLD* s.v. *ab* 13b) three’.

**hunc:** despite the change of pronoun, presumably to be taken as Mars, *hunc habet* being equivalent to *fuit ille* + dative in 89.

**miles Paeligne:** O. himself came

from the Paelignian town of Sulmo. He elsewhere talks about it as his place of origin (4.79–82; *Am.* 3.15.1–14; *Pont.* 4.14.49) and stresses the area's agricultural nature or damp terrain (4.685–6; *Am.* 2.1.1; 2.16.1–10, 33–7; *Tristia* 4.10.3; *Pont.* 1.8.42). Against this background *miles* pointedly brings out a different reputation of the area, a traditional source of Roman troops. **tibi cum proavis ... Sabinis | conuenit** literally 'there is agreement for you with the forefathers of the Sabines', the same construction as at *Amores* 2.15.5 *mecum conuenit illi* (unless *illa* is right there). Some understand 'your Sabine forefathers', but nothing elsewhere suggests the Paeligni came from Sabine stock. The present *conuenit* reminds the reader that we are being told about current calendars, but *proavis* puts the pre-Roman origin in mind too. *Sabinis* expands on *turba Curesis* in 94 (201 n.), and *quartus* serves as a gloss on *a tribus primum*.

**97–8 Romulus, hos omnes ut uinceret**: the name returns us immediately from the digression to the narrative, *hos omnes* brings the material of the digression into play, and *ut uinceret* reveals the king's purpose, to establish the aggressive ethos of his city. **ordine saltem** 'in order at least'. Giving Mars the honour of a month turns out not to set Rome apart from her neighbours, as 79–96 have shown, but Romulus hopes to gain a competitive advantage by putting Mars first; there may be a hint that Rome will privilege war, or that Roman armies will be first in the field for the campaigning season; if so, Ovid will neglect this for the majority of March (but see 201–28). **sanguinis auctori** takes us back to 73 *de cuius sanguine natus*, and to the scene with Silvia; it also looks ahead to Mars' words at 190. **tempora prima dedit**: Romulus *gave* his father the first month, but any Roman and any reader of the *Fasti* knows that his plan did not remain for ever in effect. The explanation for the defective Romulean year and the history of its replacement as knowledge arrived in Rome is what Ovid will be concerned with next.

**99–150** The pre-Caesarian naming of the months from July (*Quintilis*) to December was an irrefutable indication that the Roman year had once begun in March. In his most detailed account of the Romulean calendar O. saves this point till last (149–50), while he explores other markers of the initial status of the month (135–48). But first he presents as true the commonly held, but more controversial, view that originally there were only ten months (so too at 1.27–44; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.3–13.8). This account is implicit already in Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.34 (talking of January and February as *additi*; so explicitly Censorinus 20.2–5), but Plutarch is more inclined to see Numa's involvement as changing the starting point than in adding two months (*Numa* 18–19; *Quaest. Rom.* 19; for modern scepticism see Rüpke 2011: 23–4). The contrast between present and distant past allows O. to give an account of developing culture: as at *Ars* 3.113–28 he is



(at least on the surface) an optimist in his reading of Roman history (contrast *Ars* 2.277–8). Romulus, like his father, is treated as an uneducated monomaniacal warrior (Hinds 1992: 131–42).

**99–100** *totidem* ‘just as many’, freely used by O. as an alternative to *tot*. **quot nunc**: supply <*Kalendae sunt*> or perhaps <*quid nunc sunt habent*>. **ille ... annus** ‘the year then’ (*OLD* s.v. *ille* 7). **geminis mensibus** ‘by a couple of months’, ablative of the measure of difference. The use of *geminis* conjoins January and February, appropriately given the structure of the *Fasti* itself, which has matching proems for each pair of books.

**101–10**: a densely intertextual passage (Hinds 1992: 124–7), which begins from Horace’s famous statement about how Greek culture overturned Rome’s military conquest (*Ep.* 2.1.156–7) and then plays at length on Anchises’ contrasting of the *artes* of others (i.e. the Greeks) with those of Rome, *Aen.* 6.847–53 (verbal echoes only in O.’s *artes*, 101, and *Romanam ... artem*, 103):

excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
 (credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,  
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
 describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: 850  
 tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
 (haec tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,  
 parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

The arts attributed to *alii* are sculpture (in bronze and marble), oratory, and astronomy; the Roman has empire and military success. Italian public and private space was filled with Greek sculpture during the first and second centuries BC; Greeks taught oratory in Rome (Cicero mentions the influx of teachers at *de Oratore* 1.15, e.g., and Suetonius at *Gramm.* 25.1–2 the expulsions of 161 and 92 BC), and they cast horoscopes (cf. Umbricius at *Juv.* 3.42–3 on the jobs he as a native cannot do: *motus astrorum ignoro*). O. has nothing on sculpture (though the play on *signa* in 113–14 might suggest also the sense ‘statues’), but contrasts the Roman concentration on war (103–4) with Greek feebleness (*male forte*, 102), and Greek rhetorical skill (*facundum*, 102) with the very different version of ‘eloquence’ found in primitive Rome (104). Ignorance of the stars is the point at issue: before Rome was educated in the liberal arts, mistakes could be made over fundamental things like the length of the solar year. O. also omits here any reference to ruling, peace, civilization, or clemency as the *artes* of Romulean Rome; but he will describe Numa’s introduction of law and religious observation at 277–84, the *artes* promoted by Minerva

at 815–34, and those invented through Venus' influence at 4.107–14. For the notion that Rome long stood in need of humane education, cf. e.g. Suet. *Gramm.* 1 *Grammatica Romae ne in usu quidem olim, nedum in honore ullo erat, rudi scilicet ac bellicosa etiam tum ciuitate, necdum magnopere liberalibus disciplinis uacante*; on the other hand, Cicero's description at *Rep.* 2.34 of Greek education in Rome as an 'overflowing river' (*abundantissimus amnis disciplinarum et artium*) puts its beginning in the regal period.

**101–2 nondum tradiderat uictas uictoribus artes** | **Graecia**: Romulus lived long before the conquest of Greece (200–146 BC), and thus before the Greek invasion of Latium according to Horace's *bon mot* at *Ep.* 2.1.156–7 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit et artes | intulit agresti Latio*. The polyptoton *capta ... cepit* is transmuted to *uictas uictoribus*; *uictas* implies that the Hellenic arts are less effective in war. Though important elsewhere in the book (5, 86, 281), wildness is omitted from the account of Roman ignorance here; rusticity is brought in by the hay ensigns of 115–17. O. keeps *Graecia* and *artes* in the same positions in the verse, but moves *Graecia* from the start of the sentence – an apt deferral to bring out the delay in Greek influence. For polyptoton involving *uincere* and cognates, cf 1.523 *uicta tamen uinces ...*, *Troia*, Cic. *Brut.* 254 *quo enim uno* [i.e. eloquence] *uincebamur a uicta Graecia*, and Wills 1996: 251–3.

**103–4 qui bene pugnabat**: though *male forte* in 102 means 'not brave', and *bene* here can be taken as 'well' (i.e. effectively: *OLD* 1, 11), the position in adjacent lines invites readers to find contrast, with a hint of moral approbation in *bene* (*OLD* 4). **disertus**: a humorous paradox: in primitive Rome, the ability to throw a heavy javelin counted as eloquence. An alternative view of human development appears in April, when Venus is presented as provoking the discovery of the arts, including eloquence (4.111–12) *eloquiumque fuit duram exorare puellam | proque sua causa quisque disertus erat*. Verses 103–10 make for an extended version of 1.29–30 *scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras, | curaque finitimos uincere maior erat*.

**105–6 aut Hýādās aut Plīādās Ātlāntēās**: the Greek third-declension accusative plural ending *-as* has a short vowel (as in *Plīadās*); the treatment of the final syllable of *Hyadas* as heavy is thus anomalous. Such an 'irrational lengthening' is perhaps unique in Ovidian elegiacs (Platnauer 1951: 60; *Tristia* 5.7.23 is usually emended; in the *Met.* we find, among many other instances, *Aloidās*, 6.117; *Priamidās*, 13.482), but it is likely to be original, for such oddities, like the fifth-foot spondee (p. 35; Platnauer 1951: 39), often accompany Greek diction; in addition, O. alludes to a Virgilian instance, *Geo.* 1.138 *Plēiādās*, *Hyadas*, *claramque Lycaonis Arcton* (Wills 1996: 377). That passage of the *Georgics* (1.121–44) describes the invention of *artes* by mankind after Jupiter ended the Golden Age;

O.'s Romans learn their *artes* not out of divinely imposed necessity, but from the Greeks (a point emphasized by the language of 105-8). Both Hyades and Pleiades are star clusters that make up parts of the constellation Taurus; each set of sisters were daughters of Atlas. O. explores their heavenly position and their myths in greater detail at 4.169-78, 5.83-4 (Pleiades) and 5.163-82 (Hyades). Their risings and settings marked key moments in the farmer's year (Hes. *W&D* 383-4, 614-17; Arat. *Phaen.* 267; Virg. *Geo.* 4.232-5) and the sailor's (*W&D* 619; *Phaen.* 266; Theoc. 13.25). They appear together on the Shield of Achilles in Homer (*Iliad* 18.486) and in the *Met.* (13.293), where Ajax is cast in the Romulus role, ignorant of astronomy (295). **geminos esse sub axe polos** apparently 'that there are twin poles [i.e. north and south] beneath the vault of heaven'. O. draws on Aratus (as in the next couplet): cf. *Phaen.* 21-6 'The axis [*or* axle] is simply fixed for ever and holds the earth entirely balanced in the middle and rotates the very sky. Two poles terminate it, one at each end, one not visible, the other to the north high above the ocean. Two Bears wheel, embracing it on either side.' (Germanicus' translation reads *extremum geminus determinat axem | quem Grai dixere polon*, 21-2.) The alternative would be to find here an anticipation of 107-8, with *polos* as 'north stars'. In either case, it is not clear how far the usual sense 'beneath' should be given to *sub*: could *sub axe* just mean 'on the axle'?

**107-8** 'that there are two Bears, of which Cynosura [i.e. the Lesser, lit. "Dog's Tail"] is aimed for by the Phoenicians, while the Greek boat picks out Helice [i.e. the Great Bear, or Plough]': attention turns to the use of stars in navigation. The contrast between the Greek and Phoenician north becomes commonplace after Aratus, *Phaen.* 36-9 (the pair have been catasterized for tending the infant Zeus) 'One Bear men call by the name Cynosura, the other Helice. By Helice do Greeks reckon where they must steer their ships, but Phoenicians cross the sea relying on the other.' Ovid repeats the notion at *Trist.* 4.3.1-2 *Magna minorque ferae, quarum regis altera Graias, | altera Sidonias ... rates*, and *Ep.* 18.149; in neither of these does he equate the Great Bear directly with Callisto, as at 2.155-92, *Met.* 2.401-530: her story has no place for a sister bear. **notet**: cf. the helmsman Acoetes at *Met.* 3.595 *Taygetenque* [i.e. the Pleiades] *Hyadasque oculis Arctonque notavi*. The verb, like *petatur*, is subjunctive, as is normal in subordinate clauses in indirect speech.

**109-10 signa**: the twelve signs of the zodiac, of which Pisces (399-402) and Aries (851-76) appear in March. For the climax of his question O. returns to calendrical aspects of astronomy. **frater ... sororis equos**: the sun, Apollo, and the moon, his sister Diana. The hexameter is aptly used for the lengthy movement of the sun, the pentameter for the quicker moon; we may contrast too *percenseat* and *ire*, the separated

*longo ... anno* and the snappy *uno mense*. Both Sun and Moon are represented as travelling in horse-drawn chariots; for the Moon see e.g. 4.374, 5.16, McKeown on *Am.* 2.5.38, Lyne on *Ciris* 38, *LIMC* ‘Selene/Luna’ 53b, 56.

**111–12 libera currebant et inobseruata per annum | sidera** ‘the stars moved free and unobserved through the year’. The absence of an accurate calendar turned the fixed stars into quasi-planets (*errantia* or *uaga sidera*; O. has a similar play at 1.310 *ponemusque suos ad uaga signa dies*). The ten-month year caused a mismatch between the seasons and religious festivals, which are so often related to the natural cycle (especially the agricultural sequence in April and May). This was something familiar in the Republic too when intercalary months were not properly introduced, so that 46 BC, the year before the introduction of the Julian calendar, had to be extended to 445 days. **constabat sed tamen esse deos**: the vague piety of primitive Latium is brought out – what was not understood was regarded as divine. For the equation of stars and deities, cf. *Met.* 1.73 *astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum*.

**113–14** ‘They did not grasp the *signa* [constellations] moving in the heavens, but their own *signa* [i.e. military standards]’: *non negates caelo labentia*, in contrast to *sua*. Though stars were regarded as divine, they were out of reach and so neglected in comparison with the ensigns they carried to war. **illi** ‘men then’ (cf. 99). **caelo labentia**: for *labi* of heavenly motion see Bailey on *Lucr.* 1.2. Given the allusions to Aratus in 106–8, O. may have been influenced by Cicero’s translation, at *Phaen.* 19 *cetera labuntur celeri caelestia motu*. **tenebant**: though translated ‘grasp’ above, this could have other senses, ‘guard’ (*OLD* 9a) and ‘keep in mind’ (*OLD* 24). **quae magnum perdere crimen erat**: the dishonour involved in the loss of standards is easily attributed to the age of Romulus, but it belongs more properly to the late Republic and early Empire, to the period between the battle of Carrhae in 55 BC and the resolution of conflict with Parthia in 19, during which recovery of lost standards was a powerful motive in Roman foreign policy and a campaign mounted by Antony in the 30s resulted in the loss of another standard; and again to the period after the catastrophic defeat of three legions under Varus in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9. Varus committed suicide at the end of the battle. The sentiment thus has special point in the closing years of Augustus’ reign before Germanicus, the other addressee of the *Fasti* (n.b. 116), recovered standards in 14 and 15; these were also the early years of Ovid’s exile (which led him to write much on less serious *crimina*, namely his *carmen et error*, *Trist.* 2.207).

**115–18 quidem:** concessive (*OLD* 3a), strengthening the contrast asserted by *sed* (the two conjunctions together function like the Greek μέν ... δέ). **faeni** ‘of hay’: see Kenney 1993: 458–61 (following Merkel, he attributes the reading to the manuscript D, but it is the word at the end of the verse that it, like others, has in the genitive). *faeno* (or the orthographical alternative *feno*) is transmitted by the majority of the tradition, but the ablative of material is less idiomatic than the genitive and the form will easily have arisen through assimilation to *faeno* at the end of the line (the variant *faeni* there may have resulted from a misplaced correction). A-W-C print <e> *feno* from Paris 8245, but O. prefers to avoid elisions such as this involves, and the polyptoton is less Ovidian so (see Kenney, and Wills 1996: 465, n. 16). **faeno:** possessive dative, with *erat* ‘the hay had’, equivalent to *aquilas habere* in the pentameter. **nunc ... cernis ... tuas:** the explicit contrast between the ancient bundle of hay and the modern eagle is given a personal touch with the second person address. But do we read this as meant for Mars, addressed in 1–8, or for the dedicatees of the whole poem, Augustus, the commander-in-chief ultimately responsible for the loss of standards, or Germanicus, who recovered them early in the reign of Tiberius? Even if we imagine the line written before exile, the passage had changed in force by the time our *Fasti* was published. **pertica** ‘rod’ or ‘wand’, a word found mainly in the agricultural writers such as Cato, Varro, and Columella. **maniplos, | unde manipularis:** after a couplet in which past and present are contrasted through the diction (*faenum* and *aquila*), here the causal link between the rustic army of the past and the legionary of the present is brought out by *unde* (a regular marker of etymology: 327, 408, 4.40, 4.51, 6.578) and by the repetition from hexameter to pentameter: the soldier is still part of a ‘maniple’ or company, named from the original standard, a ‘maniple’ or ‘bundle’ of hay carried on a rod. Very similar is Plutarch, *Romulus* 8.6 ‘Each company was led by a man holding up a handful of hay and foliage attached to a pole. In Latin they call these *maniples*; and from them even now they name the men in the army *manipulares*.’ A detailed account of the legion and its maniples (relevant also for 128–30) can be found at Polybius 6.21.6–24.9.

**119–20 indociles** ‘untaught’ (*OLD* 2) rather than ‘unteachable’ here, as *adhuc* shows. **ratione carentes** ‘lacking in scientific reasoning [or calculation]’ (*OLD* s.v. *ratio* 4, 1). **mensibus egerunt lustra minora decem** ‘passed through *lustra* too short by ten months’: the thought (and some of the phrasing) reprises verse 100, but with the five-year cycle of the *lustrum* used for variety. The line also looks ahead to the couplet on leap-year cycles at 165–6; there we find that the new Julian calendar is merely a day out for every *lustrum*, and a correction is available for that.

**120–134** *decem ... decimum ... hic numerus ... tot ... bis quinto ... decem ... inde ... denos ... decem ... totidem ... totidem ... totidem ... adsueto numero ... hoc spatio*: each of the first nine verses refers to the number 10, with five more references in the next six lines, all presented with a typically fine mixture of variation and anaphora.

**121–2** *annus erat ... cum* ‘it was a year when’: the phrasing leads into the following explanation, that they naturally counted to ten and then stopped, or started again. **decimum cum luna receperat orbem** ‘once the moon had acquired its tenth circle [*or*undertaken its tenth cycle]’: the best parallels seem to be 2.175 *luna nouum decies impleat cornibus orbem*, *Met.* 11.453 *ante ... quam luna bis impleat orbem*, on the one hand; on the other, Martial 9.31.3 *luna quater binos non tota peregerat orbem*; similarly ambiguous is Tib. 2.4.17–18 *ubi orbem | compleuit, uersis luna recurrit equis*. However, *recepserat* does not seem idiomatic in either sense, and it is hard to see why O. did not write e.g. *repleuerat* (in some later MSS) or *peregerat*. **magno ... in honore** ‘in great honour [i.e. in much use]’ (*OLD* 3d): cf. 6.658 *temporibus ueterum tibicinis usus auorum | magnus et in magno semper honore fuit*, *Met.* 10.170 (on Apollo in love) *nec citharae nec sunt in honore sagittae*. The thought seems to be complete at the end of the couplet, but causal clauses unexpectedly continue the sentence to 125 (cf. 229–34).

**123–6** The prominence of ten in ancient society is attributed first to two features that may seem entirely natural: the number of digits on our hands (but that matters only if we count) and the perceived length of human pregnancy (but that is valid only if we decide to measure in months). **bis quinto femina mense parit**: see 43–4 and 93 nn. **adusque decem numero crescente uenitur** ‘one reaches as far as ten through increasing numbers’. *uenitur* is the impersonal passive, used when an author wishes to stress the action rather than the subject of an intransitive verb. O. is thinking of the sequence V, VI, VII, VIII, VIII, followed by X, XI etc.; the description in the pentameter of the second sequence could work better for Greek or Arabic numerals: ‘from there a beginning is made in new columns’, but *spatiis* is presumably to be taken as ‘circuits’ (poetic plural, but with the implication that there is a fresh beginning with each ten). **inde**: as this has no rhetorical connexion with *inde* in 127, the repetition is awkward. It is possible that O. wrote *unde*, which would also give the couplet more coherence.

**127–30** **inde**: ‘for that reason’ (*OLD* 10a). This refers not to the explanations given in 123–6, but returns to the key point made in 122, about the prominence of the number ten. **patres centum denos secreuit in orbem**: for the senate of 100, divided into ten *decuriae*, cf. Ogilvie on Livy 1.8.6, Livy 1.17.5 *centum patres decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae rerum praessent*, D.H. 2.57.1 οἱ

καταγραφέντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ... διενεμήθησαν εἰς δεκάδας ('the senators were divided into groups of ten'). **denos** 'ten' (*OLD* 2); in this case each section also consists of ten. Groups of ten and divisions into ten are also prominent in Dionysius' account of Romulus' constitution at 2.7–13. **orbes** 'circles' (cf. *OLD* 5b, though this instance lies outside normal usage). **hastatos ... principes ... pilanus**: after Romulus' political organization in 127, we move on to the military structure (which requires more space). **hastatos instituitque decem** 'and instituted the ten front units'. *hastatus* (literally 'spearman') can mean either 'a soldier from the front-line of the legionary battle formation' (*OLD* 2a) or 'a unit of such soldiers' (2b); either works within the immediate context (and there is similar ambiguity in *totidem corpora* in 129–30), but we know from other sources (Polybius 6.24.3; Livy 8.8.5 says fifteen) that there were ten units, and far more than ten in each unit. **totidem principes, totidem pilanus habebat | corpora** 'the prime line and the reserve line had the same number of bodies [i.e. units]'. On the oddity of the name *principes* for the second line in the army see Oakley on Livy 8.8.3 (p. 458) and Rawson 1991: 40–51; it is unclear whether they once formed the first rank, and moved back as tactics changed, or whether the name implies 'most important'. The more common name for *pilani* (lit. 'javelin-men'), the veterans, was *triarii* (lit. 'third-rankers'). **legitimo quique merebat equo** 'and so did the group who served on the horse provided by law'. Polybius 6.25.1 confirms the division of the cavalry into ten squadrons. According to Livy, the state provided money to buy horses for the cavalry in the regal period (1.43.9), and it was not until 403, and the disasters during the siege of Veii, that knights served *equis suis* (5.7.13).

**131–2** Roman writers were fascinated by the names of their tribes, Titi(ens)es, Ramn(ens)es, Luceres, and what they implied for the early history of the city: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.55 *nominatae, ut ait Ennius, Titienses ab Tatío, Ramnenses ab Romulo, Luceres, ut Iunius, ab Lucumone; sed omnia haec uocabula Tusca, ut Volnius, qui tragoedias Tuscas scripsit, dicebat*, Livy 1.13.8 *Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatío Titienses appellati: Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est* (and Ogilvie *ad loc.*), Prop. 4.1.31 *hinc Tities Ramnesque uiri Luceresque Soloni* (in a context that implies Varro's etymologies) – note that the scansion of *Lŭcērēs* is different from Ovid's *Lŭcērĭbus*. Titus Tatius was leader of the Sabines who first fought against Romulus and then joined him in ruling the new city; Lucumo (or Lycmon, Prop. 4.1.29) was a name ascribed to a colleague of Romulus killed in battle (Cic. *Rep.* 2.14), or to the future king Tarquinius Priscus before he came to Rome from Etruria (Livy 1.34, D.H. 2.37) or Corinth (D.H. 3.46–8); see also Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 1.lix. **partes** 'sections' (*OLD* 5), a third synonym after *orbes* and *corpora*. **quosque** 'to those whom': *eis* is

understood as the antecedent. **uocant**: implies an interest in etymology, rewarded by the presence of Romulus as subject of *dedit*.

**133-4 adsuetos igitur**: both words help introduce the summing up of the aetiology of the ten-month year. **hoc luget spatio femina maesta uirum**: an addendum to the list, perhaps deferred because it is neither natural nor easily attributed to Romulus. It closes the section with a reference to death, and *femina* echoes *femina* in 124, the line on childbirth: the ten months of pregnancy and of mourning are juxtaposed in the parallel passage at 1.33-6. The current social practice is used to imply ancient reverence for the period of ten months, on the assumption that that had been the religious cycle in the past. **hoc ... spatio** 'for this space', i.e. ten months. Though accusative is more common to express extent of time, the ablative is idiomatic too (as in 137 *toto anno*, 682 *longo tempore*; see Fordyce on Cat. 109.5); here it avoids rhyme between the unrelated words before the *caesura* and at line end.

**135-50** O. finally turns to the sure evidence that the year previously began in March, passing through some suggestive markers of this fact, religious rituals comparable to those that mark the Kalends of January as the start of the year (1.75-84, 149-226), then the evidence of the historical record (*memorantur*, 147), before the clinching point about the names of the months after June. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.5-6 is a passage so similar that it must either be derived from O. or (more probably) from his source: *Haec fuit Romuli ordinatio, qui primum anni mensem genitori suo Marti dicauit* [73-8]: *quem mensem anni primum fuisse uel ex hoc maxime probatur, quod ab ipso Quintilis quintus est, et deinceps pro numero nominabantur* [149-50]. *huius etiam prima die ignem nouum Vestae aris accendebant, ut incipiente anno cura denuo seruandi nouati ignis inciperet* [143-4]. *eodem quoque ingrediente mense tam in regia curiisque atque flaminum domibus laureae ueteres nouis laureis mutabantur* [137-40]; *eodem quoque mense et publice et priuatim ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur, ut annare perennareque commode liceat* [145-6].

**135-8 neu dubites primae fuerint quin ante Kalendae | Martis**: 'and lest you doubt that the Kalends of Mars previously came first'. *quin* is the standard construction after a negated expression of doubt; here it is postponed to third position in its clause. **Martis**: for the god identified with his month, see 429 n. **haec** 'the following' (*OLD* s.v. *hic* 5). **laurea** 'laurel wreath': laurel leaves remain the topic through to 142, where repetition of *laurea* encloses the sequence, which has passed with typical variety through *frondes*, *arbore Phoebi*, the less direct *idem*, *folio*. **flaminibus**: this could be a dative of the agent with *tollitur*, but it is probably better taken within the relative clause as a dative of advantage ('which



the *flamines* have kept through the whole year’); it is also possible that the placing is designed to promote both senses. **toto ... anno:** 134 n. **in honore:** 122 n.

**139-40 tum** ‘then’ i.e. on 1st March. **ianua ... regis:** though this might seem to refer to the door of the *rex sacrificulus*, Macrobius’ list (*Sat.* 1.12.6, cited 135-50 n.) refers to the *regia*, in the first century BC the home of the *pontifex maximus* (until Augustus took on the office in 12 BC and continued to live on the Palatine: Herbert-Brown 1994: 63-81): cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.363 *domus enim in qua pontifex habitat regia dicitur, quod in ea rex sacrificulus habitare consuesset*. It is clear from Cicero’s *de Domo sua* that the *pontifex maximus* and the *rex* were different priests in the 50s, and Julius Caesar as *pontifex maximus* had his domicile in the *regia* (also referred to as the *domus publica*, Suet. *Jul.* 46); and Festus talks of houses on separate sites along the *uia Sacra* (p. 293.3-4 Lindsay: *a regia ad domum regis sacrificuli*). But much else about the houses and the relationship between the priesthoods remains obscure. **posita uiret arbore Phoebi** ‘shines green when Apollo’s tree has been (re)placed [or imposed]’. *arbore* could alternatively be taken as an ablative of means with *uiret*. *posita* is an example of the simple verb used where a compound might have been expected, e.g. *reposita* or *imposita*; cf. 171 n., and *Trist.* 3.1.39 (on Augustus’ door) *opposita uelatur ianua lauro*. **uiret** points to the contrast with the shrivelled, greying leaves (*cana*, 142) that have been left from the previous March. **arbore Phoebi:** *Met.* 1.452-567 describes how Cupid makes Apollo fall in love with the committed virgin Daphne, who runs away from him until, at the last moment, she is turned into a laurel, which the god then chooses as his tree and his symbol (1.557-8 *cui deus ‘at, quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse, | arbor eris certe’ dixit ‘mea’*). **fit idem** ‘the same happens’, i.e. the laurel wreath is replaced. **Curia prisca:** a religious building (*ubi curarent sacerdotes res diuinas*, Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.155), attributed by Festus p. 194 Lindsay to Romulus, intended as a meeting place for the *curiae* (but used by only 4 of the eventual 30), and standing on the circuit at the foot of the Palatine, somewhere between the south east end of the Circus Maximus and the *sacellum Larum* on the Velia looking over the forum (Tac. *Ann.* 12.24); probably a shrine near to the Arch of Constantine (*LTUR* 1.337; *DAR* 242) excavated in recent years by C. Panella; for an alternative site, see Cecamore 2002.

**141-4 niteat** ‘shines’, with the brightness of fresh laurel leaves, but evoking the brightness of the shrine and its fire (cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1269 *igne sidereo nitens*; and the more explicit play at 6.234 *igne cum pura* [‘cleaned’] *Vesta nitebit humo*). **uelata:** *focis* suggests that it is not Vesta’s door which is ‘covered’ (cf. *Trist.* 3.1.39 [139 n.]), and it can hardly be the fire itself, so one might think the laurel was wreathing the cult statue’s head (cf.

*Met.* 15.591–2 *cornua lauro | uelat*, *Strab. trag.* 1 *capita uiridi lauro uelare*); but, as will be revealed at 6.295–8, there are no images of Vesta in the shrine: the couplet thus covers up what it is that is ‘veiled’. **Iliacis ... focus**: cf. *ignibus Iliacis* (29 n.). **dicitur**: for what happens in Vesta’s shrine, closed to men (*arcana*), O. must depend on the information of others (45–6 n.). **nouus**: like the new leaves of 138–41, the new fire marks the new year. **uires flamma refecta capit** ‘a rekindled fire gathers strength’. *refecta* reprises the *fieri nouus* of the hexameter (for such variation see Wills 1996: 318–20). The expression *uires capere* appears first in O. (*Trist.* 1.2.27 *uires capit Euris*); then *Plin. Nat.* 17.161; [*Sen.*] *Octavia* 54. 784.

**145–6** The festival of Anna Perenna is celebrated on the Ides of March, and will be described at 523–696: besides looking ahead this couplet introduces to the reader a theme that is mainly left implicit in the Anna passage itself, the notion that the goddess is a symbol of the recurring years (cf. 657); a tantalizing fragment of the *Fasti Praenestini* containing the words *festum* and [*a*]nni nou[i] may refer to her day (Degrassi 1963: 423; see further Fauth 1978: 145–53). **nec mihi parua fides** ‘I have no small confidence that’ (supplying *est*). **Anna quod hoc coepta est mense Perenna coli** ‘the fact that Anna Perenna began to be worshipped in this month’: the reference in *coepta* is to the natal date of her shrine, 15th March, the official starting point for her worship in Rome. Latin regularly uses the passive of *coepisse* with passive infinitives (so too at 280).

**147–8 ueteres** ‘in the distant past’ (*OLD* 5). **initi** sc. <esse> ‘to have been begun’ (*OLD* s.v. *ineo* 7); cf. the opening couplet of the Lygdamus cycle ([*Tib.*] 3.1.1–2): *Martis Romani festae uenere kalendae; | exoriens nostris hic fuit annus auis*. **memorantur**: an ‘Alexandrian footnote’ (45 n.), perhaps referring to historical writings, or conceivably to inscriptions. **honores** ‘magistracies’ (*OLD* 5). **ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui** ‘to the period of your war, untrustworthy Carthaginian’. The words *belli*, *perfide Poene*, *tui* recur at 6.242, on the foundation of the temple of Mens on the Capitol; this occurred during the Hannibalic War (*Livy* 21.9–10, 23.31–2), so there was reason for Bailey to take *perfide Poene* here too as meaning Hannibal (cf. also *Hor. Carm.* 4.4.49 *perfidus Hannibal*). However, we know from other sources (*Fasti Praenestini* 1st January, and Degrassi 1963: 316; cf. *Livy, Per.* 47.13) that the move to 1st January as the regular start of the consular year came in 153, just before the Third Punic War (149–146 BC). In the light of this and of *Hor. Carm.* 3.5.33, where Regulus describes the Carthaginians of the First Punic War as *perfidis hostibus*, we may read the vocative as a collective singular, which allows reference to any of the three Punic Wars; a generic imputation of treachery is made also at *Sall. Jug.* 108.3 *Punica fide*, *Livy* 21.4.9, *Silius*

6.479–83. The starting point of magistracies before 153 varied: see e.g. Livy 3.6.1 *kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt* (and Ogilvie *ad loc.*), 22.1.4 *Cn. Seruilius consul Romae idibus Martii magistratum iniit* (the standard date from 222 BC).

**149–50 denique** ‘finally’, frequently used by Ovid to introduce the final element of a list or argument, e.g. *Amores* 2.4.47, *Met.* 15.857, *Trist.* 1.5.81, 2.361, and *Ibis* 637 (ending the long sequence of curses). **ab** ‘after’ (*OLD* 13). **Quintilis**: the previous name for July, as *Sextilis* for August. There were proposals to name September and the later numerical months after emperors, but, even when enacted, the new names never lasted (Rüpke 2011: 133). **inde | incipit a numero nomina quisquis habet** ‘there begins from that point every month which takes its name from a number’: the context makes it easy to supply *mensis* with *quisquis* (lit. ‘whatever’), but the connotation ‘in a sequence’ is unusual. The equivalent verse in book 1’s account of the calendar reads *quae sequitur numero turba notata fuit* (1.42). **a numero nomina ... habet**: the construction eight times signals etymologies in the *Fasti*.

**151–66** The post-Romulean history of the calendar is dealt with more briefly, with four lines on Numa’s addition of January and February, and twelve on Julius Caesar’s reforms. Both men will appear later in the book, Numa in the long action of the *ancilia* and the *Salii* (259–392), Caesar in the brief account of his assassination (697–710).

**151–2 primus ... | Pompilius ... sensit** ‘Pompilius [i.e. Numa] was the first to notice’: the predicative usage of *primus* (*OLD* 4). After *denique quintus* the adjective marks a return to discussion of the origin of Mars as the start of a twelve-month year. **menses sensit abesse duos**: the solution, only implied here, was briefly described at 1.43–4: *at Numa nec Ianum nec auitas praeterit umbras, | mensibus antiquis praeposuitque duos*; see also Livy 1.19.6, Macrobian *Sat.* 1.13.1–3; others attributed the reform to Tarquinius Priscus (Censorinus 20.4). **oliuiferis ... deductus ab aruis**: The Sabines were known for cultivating olives (Virg. *Aen.* 7.711 calls one town *oliuifera Mutusca*; Columella 5.8.5, Strabo 5.3.1). Numa is thus immediately signalled as peace-loving: he comes from an agricultural community, and one that tends olive trees, symbols of peace (e.g. Virg. *Geo.* 2.425 *placitam Paci ... oliuam*, *Aen.* 7.154, 8.116 *paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae*). In addition, *deducere* was used by Latin poets from Virgil on to affirm their Callimachean credentials (*Ecl.* 6.5 *deductum dicere carmen* = Call. *Aet.* 1.24 Μοῦσαν λεπτολέην; then e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.225 *tenui deducta poemata filo*, *Met.* 1.4 *ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen*), to mark a movement away from epic grandeur (Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.31) or military activity (*Am.* 2.9.19 *fessus in acceptos miles deducitur agros*). Here, of

course, the main sense of *deductus* is ‘led down’, ‘fetched’: cf. *accitus*, used at Livy 1.18.6 of Numa ‘summoned’ by the Romans from his home town of Cures (94 n.) to be the successor to Romulus.

**153–4** One of many cross-references in the *Fasti* to the *Metamorphoses*: 15.1–551 are constructed round Numa, with 60–479 recounting his education at the hands of the philosopher and mystic Pythagoras, and 485–551 his wife Egeria’s mournful reaction to his death. Livy, like O., presents Numa in the traditional way, as a peaceful king and religious innovator, but at 1.18.2–4 he attacks as chronological and geographical nonsense the story of a link with Pythagoras (similarly Cicero, at e.g. *Rep.* 2.28–9; D.H. 2.59); and he treats the advice of the nymph Egeria as Numa’s own invention, designed to persuade the Romans that he has divine authority (so too D.H. 2.61). The alternative sources of education, Greek or native, appear elsewhere too, e.g. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.13.1. **hoc ... doctus** ‘taught this’. Verbs of teaching take two accusatives in the active, and retain the accusative of the topic taught when constructed in the passive with the pupil as subject. At the end of Pythagoras’ long speech *Met.* 15.479 describes Numa as *talibus atque aliis instructum pectora dictis*. **a Samio ... qui posse renasci | nos putat**: Pythagoras was the most famous ancient believer in reincarnation, and claimed to have been Euphorbus, who fought in the Trojan War (*Met.* 15.160–4). The antonomasia *Samio* alludes to *Met.* 15.60, where Pythagoras is introduced with the words *uir fuit hic ortu Samius*, in imitation of the honorific absence of the name of Epicurus, *Graius homo* when he appears at Lucretius 1.66. **Egeria ... monente sua** ‘because his (i.e. his wife) Egeria was giving this advice’, with *hoc* understood from the hexameter; alternatively supply *hoc doctus* and take the ablative absolute as temporal/causal. At 1.19.5–7 Livy describes how Numa invents night-time assignations with the goddess Egeria to justify his religious reform, including the twelve-month calendar and the mix of *dies fasti* and *nefasti* (similarly Florus 1.1). Egeria will return at 261 (*nympha, mone*. Pasco-Pranger 2006: 90–1) so that she can inspire Ovid in telling the story of the *ancilia*. At 276 she is described as *Numae coniunx consiliumque*, matching *monente* and *sua* here (Ursini).

**155–60**: cf. the account of Julius Caesar at *Met.* 15.746–58, where too one achievement is picked out from his many victories and great deeds – the fathering of Augustus (whom he adopted, a point O. evokes but does not state; cf. 157 here). In lines that look to this context in the mention of *res domi gestae* (15.748) and the star into which he was transformed (749), the greatness of the son is presented as what won the father apotheosis. But here the establishment of the new calendar is downplayed, as one additional concern among many, simply an advance visit to his future home in the heavens. Prose accounts of the reform of the calendar may

be found at Suet. *Jul.* 40, Plut. *Caes.* 59, Censorinus 20.7–11, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.14.

**155–6 errabant etiam nunc tempora:** the phrasing echoes *libera currebant ... sidera* at 111–12 in pointing out that, though the calendar was more precise than the original version, it failed to match the solar year in the centuries after Numa. **donec:** the counter-enjambment (where a clause starts at the end of a line) is mimetic in a line that refers to the period when years were regularly too short, so that the following year had to begin too soon. **Caesaris:** Julius Caesar: the name is often ambiguous (Virg. *Aen.* 1.286–8 is a famous example) and Pasco-Pranger (2006: 70–1) reads it so here, but Julius' identity as the reformer of the calendar is probably sufficient to distinguish him from Augustus (also the father of a great adopted son, Tiberius), even after Augustus' minor corrections in 8 BC (164 n.).

**157–8** 'He, though a god, and father of so mighty an offspring, did not think these matters too unimportant for the duties of his position.' **ille** picks up *Caesaris*, but it could also suggest a contrast with others, implying that Augustus or Tiberius were indifferent to the *Fasti* and their subject matter. **deus tantaeque propaginis auctor:** in apposition to *ille*, with concessive force.

**159–60 promissum ... sibi ... caelum:** even early in his reign Augustus was treated as a god (Prop. 3.4.1), or a future god (Virg. *Geo.* 1.24–39, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.12, reading *bibet*), and it was natural to retroject this on to Julius; for the religious reforms that paved the way for his deification see Weinstock 1971. **praenoscere:** in itself a sign of divinity: cf. Cic. *Diu.* 1.82 (the gods) *neque non possunt futura praenoscere*. **caelum:** O. associates understanding of the universe with ascent into heaven already at *Met.* 15.62–3 (Pythagoras) *caeli regione remotos | mente deos adiit* and *Fast.* 1.297–310, a passage in praise of astronomers, *quibus haec cognoscere primis | inque domos superas scandere cura fuit. ... sic petitur caelum ... nos quoque sub ducibus caelum metabimur illis*; Lucretius had likewise ended his account of Epicurus' traversing the universe with the words *nos exaequat uictoria caelo* (1.79); cf. also Manilius 1.42, 1.96–112. The panegyric elevates natural philosophers as well as Divus Julius himself. **nec ... ignotas:** the pentameter uses a double negative to vary the expression of the hexameter. There is perhaps a correction of Virg. *Ecl.* 5.56, where Daphnis, the allegorical figure for Julius Caesar, *insuetum miratur limen Olympi*. **deus:** in apposition to the subject: as a god, Julius should really know his home. The word also helps to specify the *domi* as celestial. But the rest of the line introduces the jocular element frequently found in O.'s panegyric passages: the future god is like a hotel guest wanting to inspect the rooms in advance.

**161–2** ‘He is reported to have organized with precise annotations the periods of delay by which the sun returned to its constellations [i.e. the signs of the zodiac].’ **moras**: the progress through the whole year is evoked by reference to the slower progress (‘lingering’) of the sun against the background of the stars (about 4 minutes a day), or perhaps to its ‘sojourns’ in the various star signs; *TLL* s.v. *mora* 1468.52–9 groups together some usages of the word in astronomical contexts. **rediret**: secondary sequence is commonly used after timeless, generalizing presents such as *traditur* or *ferunt*: see Woodcock 1959: §279(d). *rediret* also scans here, as *redeat* would not. **traditur**: O. attributes the narrative to tradition and thus gives Caesar’s reforms the patina of antiquity. **notis**: evokes the *notae* that make up the inscribed calendars (cf. 429), and perhaps also those that accompany the daily lines on the surviving part of the Augustan meridian (*DAR* 55).

**163–6** **is**: it is unusual to find *is* used shortly after another pronoun to refer to the same person, especially in the same case, and it is particularly odd here when both *is* and *ille* (161) are emphatically placed at the start of their couplets. The only Ovidian instance at all like this one is *Ars* 2.493–7 *Apollō ... ille ... is* (but *uates* [acc. pl.] *ille uidendus adit* is parenthetical there, as the change of tense shows); here corruption may be suspected (perhaps from *nam*). **decies senos ter centum et quinque diebus | iunxit** ‘he joined ten times six to three hundred and five days’, i.e. 365. Latin poets seem to have enjoyed the challenge of versifying numbers. **e pleno tempora quarta die** ‘a quarter period out of a full day’ (see 4 n. on the poetic plural). *quarta* is in a few later manuscripts, while *quinta* is transmitted in A and the majority of the twelfth-century MSS, *iuncta* in UIG; each of these has apparently arisen from assimilation (cf. *quinque* above, *iunxit* at the start of the line). Some editors have maintained *quinta*, and read *lustrum* (165) in its commonest sense; but a four-year cycle is certainly what was intended (on the errors made in the early years, corrected from 8 BC, see Plin. *Nat.* 18.211, Macrobian *Sat.* 1.14.13–15), and it looks more likely that the error is a scribe’s than the poet’s (Radke 1960). **lustrum** ‘four-year period’, a sense found regularly later (*Pont.* 4.6.6, Plin. *Nat.* 2.122), especially to refer to the leap-year cycle of five years counted inclusively, though in 120 (and often) it means ‘a five-year period’. **consummatur**: if we read *quarta* in 164, a finely chosen piece of diction, the only occurrence of the verb in Ovid: the four syllables that make up the complete word imitate the four parts from which the leap-day is added up. The effect is compounded by the way that in the sentence the *lustrum* passes, the parts are added up, and at the end of the cycle, there arrives the single day (*una dies*).

**167–258** The Matronalia

Ovid resumes his address of Mars (1–10), now with a specific question, why the Matronalia happens on 1st March, and in a move that seems designed to surprise the reader – this is the last god we would expect to find speaking in an elegiac poem – Mars himself now replies, with a long and indecisive explanation of the timing of the festival. The book thus moves on, but in a connected way, from the name of the month and its place in the calendar to the sacred activities of the Kalends: these will turn out to be the text's concern as far as 398. Though it tells us little directly about what happened in Ovid's Rome, the passage is our most extensive source for the Matronalia: the formal ritual was performed by married women (Ausonius xiv.16.7–8), perhaps in the absence of men (205–6, 229–52), at the temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline (not securely placed: *DAR* 349), but it was also a social occasion when couples celebrated together (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.1, cited on 169–70, and ps.-Acro *ad loc.*), men were expected to give gifts to women ([Tib.] 3.1, Mart. 5.84.10–12), especially their wives (Juv. 9.53, *Dig.* 24.1.31.8), and matrons to serve their slaves, as masters did at the Saturnalia (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.7, Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.42; cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 19.1).

**167–8** O. refers a number of times to the special access that poets supposedly have to the gods (6.7–8, 249–56, *Ars* 2.496; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.9, Silius 1.19); in reporting conversations with deities the *Fasti* plays on the availability of such access to provide authoritative underpinning for its aetiological fictions. A parallel can be found at 5.693–720 to this renewed request for information from a god (Mercury: cf. 5.663–92), followed by a response. **occultos monitus** 'teaching in secret'. As elsewhere in the *Fasti* (261, 313; 1.227, 1.467, 4.247, 5.447), *monitus* and *monere* connote not 'warning' or 'advice', but divine 'instruction', i.e. the providing of information. **uatibus**: the noun combines the notions of 'poet', 'priest', and 'prophet', and is thus apt for any context in which a poet claims divine authority; see Nisbet & Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.35, Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 16.66, Puelma 1982: n. 109a. **ut certe fama licere putat** 'as at any rate rumour thinks they may'. Mars' response will give a superficially far stronger warrant for this belief than 'public opinion'.

**169–70** Puzzlement about the timing of Matronalia recalls an Horatian paradox. At the start of *Odes* 3.8 he assumes Maecenas will want to know why he, a bachelor, is marking 1st March with flowers and sacrifices: *Martiis caelebs quid agam kalendis, | quid uelint flores et acerra turis | plena miraris* points to the Matronalia, and there is a contrast implied by *caelebs*; here *uirilibus* is set against *matronae*, placed in hexameter and pentameter respectively. The gendered aspect of the festival is already implied in the fragment of a *fabula Atellana* by Pomponius, which Macrobius cites under the title *Kalendae Martiae* (*Sat.* 6.4.13): a male character accepts advice

to speak with a high-pitched voice (*uocem deducas*) in order to get a gift. March 1st is also the starting point of [Tib.] 3.1 and 3.8, the first poems in the erotic cycles of Lygdamus and Sulpicia respectively. O. teases away at the coincidence of festivals because of the paradox involved (cf. e.g. Callim. *Aet.* fr. 7c Harder; Pasco-Pranger 2000: 282–7), whereas other such groupings are passed over with little comment (1.289–94, 1.461–4, 6.569–70; but cf. 4.863–900). **cum** ‘though’, or perhaps ‘when’; in either case the clause belongs within the indirect question after *cur* (cf. 795 n.). **officiis ... uirilibus aptus**: ambiguous: it may be equivalent to *utilis armis* (173, and the book’s opening word, *Bellice*), *officiis* having the sense of ‘functions’ (*OLD* 4), or more directly in antithesis with *matronae colant* (170), with the meaning ‘suited to male worship’ (*OLD* *officium* 2c). The former fits Varro’s etymology, *Ling. Lat.* 5.73 *Mars ab eo quod maribus* [‘males’] *in bello praeest*. **Gradiue** ‘the Marching god’ (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3.35 *quod gradum inferant qui pugnant*). Mars is addressed by a title that stresses his military nature. The name looks back to 2.861 (*iure uenis, Gradiue*), ahead to 174, and also to the section on the Salii (259–392), who were appointed as ministers of *Gradivus* according to Livy 1.20.4. **matronae cur tua festa colant**: the hyperbaton increases the emphasis on *matronae*. There is no reason to think the Matronalia was a ritual of Mars, except in taking place on the first day of his month. Verses 253–8 give a brief account of the offerings made to Juno, who was celebrated on every Kalends (1.55): the first Kalends of the year was thus a very suitable day for special honours to be paid, and to be the natal date of her temple (247–8); cf. Juno Moneta on the Arx, founded on 1st June (6.183–4). The word *matrona* does not recur in the passage, but O. evokes it with *nurus*, *nupta*, and especially *mater*, which appears seven (or six) times, sometimes meaning ‘mother’, sometimes rather *matrona* (251 n.), sometimes both at once.

**171–2 sic ego. sic ... dixit**: cf. 3.12, 4.195 *sic ego. sic Erato*, 5.193 (Flora), 6.655 (Minerva), 6.801 (Clio); Ovid’s model in Latin is Tib. 1.4.7 *sic ego. tum Bacchi respondit rustica proles* (i.e. Priapus) | *armatus curua sic mihi falce deus*, but Callimachus’ conversation with the Muses in *Aetia* 1–2 is likely to have provided Greek models (within the fragments that survive cf. 31c, 43b.1 Harder ὥς ἡ μὲν λίπε μῦθον, ἐγὼ δέ ‘so she closed her speech, and I ...’). **posita ... casside**: an echo of 1–2 *depositus clipeo ... et hasta*, | *Mars, ades et nitidas casside solue comas*, with the simple verb replacing the compound, and of *Met.* 14.806 *posita ... casside Mauors*, where Mars politely takes off his helmet to speak to Jupiter about the deification of Romulus. The helmet might seem to stand for the armour in general, but the pentameter will quickly correct that impression. Minerva, more at home in poetry (833), puts down her spear unprompted in the similar



verse at 6.655 *sic ego. sic posita Tritonia cuspidē dixit*. **Mauors**: another name of Mars that has military implications (Cic. *D.N.D.* 2.67 *qui magna uerteret Mauors*). **sed tamen in dextra missilis hasta fuit**: despite the special emphasis that has been given to laying aside the spear (9–10, as well as 1), Mars does not do so. He dresses himself appropriately for a narrative that involves the rape of the Sabine women: when others have come in peace for the games there is no need for defensive armour, but a spear might come in handy, both as a weapon and a phallic symbol.

**173–4 nunc primum studiis pacis deus utilis armis**: in his instructions for ritual purification of land (*lustratio*), Cato quotes a prayer to Mars (*Agr.* 141.2–3); this begins from a sense of him as the god of the boundary, able to ward off sickness and destruction, but moves on to broader prosperity and health. Some (e.g. Bailey 1921: 33–47) therefore thought Mars originated as an agricultural deity; this was firmly rejected by others (e.g. Dumézil 1970: 205–45); for a more nuanced view, with further bibliography, see Woodard 2006: 232–6, 262–5. Certainly, the Mars who had come to be identified with the Greek Ares was an essentially military figure (1–10, 85–6). Poetry by contrast is a peaceful activity; elegy in particular is repeatedly characterized as such (*Am.* 1.1, *Rem.* 379–82, *Prop.* 2.1.17–46, 3.1–5, 3.9, verse 19 of which is echoed here: *hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis*), and so from the start is the *Fasti* (1.13, 709). **nunc primum**: for the first time Mars is invoked to make a direct contribution to poetry; but (this being the *Fasti*) there is a reference also to calendrical time, to that fact that this is the first day of March (and traditionally the year). **utilis armis** ‘serviceable in arms’. *armis* seems better taken as an instrumental ablative than dative (‘for warfare’), as might be implied by *OLD utilis* 4: cf. *Met.* 3.212 *naribus utilis* (of a hound). **gressus in noua castra fero**: Mars fails to adapt to his new environment, and after a hexameter in which war is matched with peace, in the pentameter (despite the echo of *Met.* 1.1 *In noua fert*) he uses highly military language: cf. e.g. *Virg. Aen.* 11.99 *gressumque in castra ferebat*; *castra* is playfully used of elegy at *Prop.* 4.1.135. *gressus* picks up on Mars’ identity as *Gradius* (169), and thereby brings the etymology to prominence: see further Hinds 1992: 98–9, Merli 2000: 72–8 (the title of her chapter, ‘L’informatante inutile’, nicely sums up the god’s role).

**175–8 nec piget incepti**: though normally using *piget* with an infinitive (or absolutely) O. has similar genitives also at *Ep.* 12.209 *facti fortasse pigebit*, *Met.* 2.386–7 *pigetque | actorum sine fine mihi, sine honore laborum*; he here alludes to *Virg. Aen.* 5.678 *piget incepti lucisque* (of the Trojan women who refuse to take further part in the epic). **hac quoque parte morari**: the adverbial phrase implies a contrast with warfare; cf. 204, where *mora* will refer to the dragging on of the war between Romans and Sabines, and

Prop. 3.1.7 *a ualeat Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis*, an expression of disgust at the tedium of epic: Mars is quite happy at this stage to take things slowly (he has taken 170 lines to respond to the request in 1–2). Contrast 408 *parua docere mora est*, 768; 2.248, 5.311; but even Mars will end wondering whether he is extending his speech too far (*quid moror*, 249). In addition, Merli 2000: 92–4 discusses *mora* as a flexible marker of aetiological didactic (cf. *Am.* 3.13.5; Prop. 4.2.57–8, 4.8.4). **disce**, **Latinorum uates operose dierum**, | **quod petis**: cf. the opening line of Janus' address at 1.101 *disce metu posito, uates operose dierum*, | *quod petis, et uoces percipe mente meas*: Mars has learnt from his predecessor (but, as the god of war, he says nothing about laying aside fear). Ovid's learning will lead to teaching (183–4 n.): the vocative marks him as a didactic poet, a Roman follower of Hesiod, author of the *Works & Days*. **memori pectore**: the epithet fits a poet in evoking the mother of the Muses, Mnemosyne ('Memory', *Met.* 6.114): cf. the matronymic *Mnemonides* (*Met.* 5.268, 280), and O.'s address to the goddesses at 4.193 *pandite mandati memores, Heliconis alumnae*. For *pectus* as the seat of intellectual capacity, cf. 249, *OLD* 3b; and Cic. *Marc.* 10, Sall. *Jug.* 4.6 for memory in particular. The phrase also appears at *Ep.* 13.66, *Pont.* 2.10.52, Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.90.

**179–82 parua fuit, si prima uelis elementa referre**: Mars stresses that his aetiology goes right back to Rome's beginnings. *prima elementa* recurs at 709 of Augustus' education, waging vengeful war at Philippi; but Mars' story concerns the end of fighting (215–32). **in parua spes tamen huius erat** 'in the small Rome there was, however, hope of today's Rome': see *OLD* hic 2a for the temporal sense; alternatively *huius* may be deictic, as if Mars gestures to what he sees. The contrast between primitive and contemporary Rome is essential to *Aeneid* 8 and Propertius 4 as well as the *Fasti* (e.g. 1.243–4, 2.391–2, 5.93–4). **moenia ... populis angusta futuris**, | **... sed turbae ... ampla suae**: O. reworks Livy 1.8.4 *cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad id quod tum hominum erat munirent*. He looks back to 69 *moenia conduntur ... parua* (i.e. 'not high') and ahead to the passage at 431–4 on the asylum (Romulus' other policy to increase his city's population). The walls established by Romulus are described as running from the *forum Boarium* around the foot of the Palatine: Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.24 (on the extension of the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary, under the emperor Claudius). **populis**: perhaps poetic plural (726 n.), but perhaps implying the gathering of peoples from far and wide in Rome.

**183–6 quae fuerit nostri si quaeris regia nati**: the structure of the line, with the governing *si*-clause inside the dependent indirect question, is very like 795. **si quaeris ... aspice**: addressed by Mars to Ovid, but then effectively by O. to the reader (cf. *disce*, 177, 436). *aspice* vividly brings out the contemporary availability of the evidence (cf. 437–8). **de canna**

**straminibusque domum:** there were apparently two such *casae Romuli*, one on the Palatine (Dion. Hal. 1.79.11; and under *Regio X* in the *Regionary Catalogues*), one on the Capitol (Vitruvius 2.1.5, Virg. *Aen.* 8.652–4, Seneca, *Con.* 2.1.5, Martial 8.80.6), both apparently primitive thatched huts, preserved (as Dionysius describes) and named to appeal to tourists. We may imagine that a basic bed of straw added to the charm inside. **placidi capiebat munera somni:** cf. 4.530 *capiat somnos*, 1.205 *in stipula placidam cepisse quietem*; the circumlocution with *munera* creates a sense of enjoying a gift (as at Virg. *Aen.* 2.268–9 *quies ... dono diuum*). *placidi* implies the calm, untroubled sleep of the man living a simple life (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.21–4, with Nisbet & Rudd; Seneca, *Ep.* 90.41 *qui ... tuti sub fronde uiuebant placidas transigebant sine suspirio noctes*, *Phaed.* 520–1, *Herc. Oet.* 644–7). **tamen** brings out the contrast between the deification of Romulus (recounted for the Quirinalia, the celebration of his divinity, 2.475–512) and his humble bed; this is enhanced by the juxtaposition *astra toro*, and the way that *toro* at the end of the couplet returns us to *in stipula* at the start.

**187–90 loco maius nomen Romanus habebat:** the ‘place’ has been defined as small by the evocative and allusive language of 181–6. Romulus’ followers had a reputation founded on military success (see 65–8, e.g.), but the very name of Rome is great too, certainly for any reader of Ovid, and because it was etymologically linked with the Greek word ῥώμη (‘strength’: Maltby 1991 ‘Roma’). For the collective singular *Romanus*, cf. 433. **nec coniunx illi:** cf. *uiduos ... uiros* at *Ars* 1.102, the first pentameter of Ovid’s fullest account of the rape of the Sabine Women (1.101–30), where, in advocating attendance at *ludi* for his would-be lover, he explains the origin of games as places of seduction. **nec socer ullus erat:** the negative symbolizes the primal state of things, before Rome really became Rome, the city of civil war, where father-in-laws can be presented as habitual aggressors (202 n.). **spernebant generos ... uicinia:** as at 2.657 *conueniunt celebrantque dapes uicinia*, the plurality of individuals implied by *uicinia* is connected to a plural verb. The negatives of 188 are now undone, through the introduction of sons-in-law – and of antagonism towards them. **inopes ... diues:** adjectives do not commonly end elegiac hexameters, but the antithesis gives *diues* a strong explanatory force: the neighbours are rich, and therefore do not want poor sons-in-law (so too Dion. Hal. 2.30.2). *inopes* is then glossed by 191–2. **male credebar sanguinis auctor ego:** Mars means that Romulus’ ragbag of followers appeared so poor as to cast doubt on his divine ancestry (*credebar* echoes Romulus in 74); but more broadly this contributes to the discourse of incredulity that pervades *Metamorphoses* (e.g. 1.400; 4.394; 8.614–15; 14.759) and *Fasti* (350–70; 2.551; 4.326; 6.3–4). Historians question the story of the rape directly: Livy (1.4.2) wonders whether Silvia really

thought she was raped by a god, or simply felt it less dishonourable to say so; Dionysius (1.77) reports earlier accounts claiming the ravisher was a lustful suitor, or her wicked uncle Amulius himself, and then the canonical tale about Mars, about which he refuses to make a decisive judgement.

**191-6 in stabulis habitasse et oues pauisse nocebat** i.e. it harmed them in the minds of the neighbourhood. O. satirizes the Roman disdain for rustic labour by attributing it to the distant past: cf. e.g. the abuse Catullus hurls at the bad poet Sufferus (*caprimulgus aut fossor*, 22.10) and the *Annales* of Volusius (*pleni ruris*, 36.19), Val. Max. 7.5.2 on Scipio Nasica's insolent jest about a man's labour-hardened hand. The perfect infinitives may stand for presents (Platnauer 1951: 109-12), but they may be taken as referring to the past, prior to the foundation of Rome, in contrast to the present *tenere* in 192.

**iugeraque inculti pauca tenere soli**, i.e. not only do they have little land, but they have not begun to farm it even when the city is established: their activity is herding, not agriculture (cf. 63-71, 2.361-70).

**cum pare quaeque suo coeunt uolucresque feraeque**: O. frequently alludes to Lucretius' opening hymn on the power of Venus, i.e. sexual desire (n.b. *uolucres*, 1.12; *ferae*, 1.14; similar are Lucr. 4.1197-8, and Virg. *Geo.* 3.242-4). Thus at 4.97-106 (birds, domesticated animals, sheep, cattle, fish) and *Ars* 2.481-8 (bird, fish, deer, snake, dog, sheep, cow, goat, horses) he too lists a variety of creatures to stress the universal nature of love; but here the system has gone wrong, and no partner joins with the Roman: contrast 4.98 *iungi cum pare quemque sua*.

**ali-quam de qua procreet anguis habet**: a comic close to this truncated list (at *Ars* 2.483 *serpens serpente tenetur* comes fourth out of nine). Loving snakes appear at *Met.* 3.324-31 (the pair struck by Tiresias) and 4.595-603 (the transformed Cadmus and Harmonia).

**externis dantur conubia gentibus**: the epithet recalls the *Aeneid*, where an oracle advises Latinus that Lavinia be married to an *externus* (7.98 *externi uenient generi*); the point is reinforced by the Sibyl's vision already at *Aen.* 6.94 (*externi ... thalami*), and by recurrence of the epithet in similar contexts at 7.68, 255, 270, 367, 424. O. thus sets up a humorous contrast between the local Romulus and the immigrant Aeneas – offered a wife as soon as he arrives in Latium. For *externus* evoking Aeneas, see Myers on *Met.* 14.380. Ulysses and Hercules are other foreigners who father children in Italy; and some of Hercules' followers settle down too (5.651-60). *externis* is transmitted in one of the twelfth-century MSS (D); most of the MSS have the easy error *extremis*, which lacks the allusive point of *externis*.

**quae | Romano uellet nubere nulla fuit** neatly closes off the sequence that began with *Romanus ... , nec coniunx illi* (187-8).

**197-200 indolui patriamque dedi tibi, Romule, mentem**: *indolui* recalls Romulus' attitude towards Remus' success in recapturing stolen cattle at

2.377. Here it is the sexual urge that is thwarted; Mars' own attitude to desire has been revealed in verse 21 *Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita*: as the pentameter confirms (*quod petis arma dabunt*), the *patria mens* involves taking what you want, with warfare if necessary (cf. Harries 1989: 175-6). Though the primary sense of *patria* is 'your father's', it can also mean 'your country's', functioning as the possessive adjective of *patria* (as is clear e.g. at *Aen.* 3.297 *patrio Andromachen iterum cessisse marito*): by making the rape of the Sabine women part of the foundation story, Mars and Romulus codify aggressive and sexual violence as Roman. The expression of a link between Mars and Romulus helps draw attention to the differences: the Romans will gain wives, whereas Mars simply rapes Silvia – and his attempt to marry Minerva will bring him more pain (692). For *mens* 'attitude', see OLD 8; for *mentem dare*, Oakley on Livy 6.18.9. **tolle preces**: the god advises his son to abandon religious behaviour (cf. 277-84); with his encouragement Romulus will disrupt the ritual for Consus. It should be no surprise that O. limits the space given to Mars in his month. **festa parat Conso**: the calendars report two Consualia, on 21st August and 15th December (and a natal date of 12th December for the Aventine temple): *illa ... die* in 200 is thus a teasing cross-reference, a point that is compounded because the published version of the *Fasti* contains neither month, despite *Consus tibi ... dicet*. Consus is described as a god of secret planning (< *consilium*), perhaps rather of grain storage (< *condere*); either can be used to explain his having an underground altar, on the Palatine side of the Circus Maximus (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.20, Dion. Hal. 2.31.2, Tertullian, *Spect.* 5.7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.24 describes the Romulean *pomerium* as running *per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi*). Because the festival involved horse-racing, he was also equated with the Greek Poseidon Hippios (Livy 1.9.6 *parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes*; Dion. Hal. 2.31.3; Ogilvie 1965: 66). When a temple was built for the god (c. 272 BC: Festus 228.20-3 Lindsay associates it with the triumph of Papirius Cursor), it was placed on the Aventine (so the *Fasti Vallenses* for 21st August; and the *Fasti Amiternini* for 12th December), presumably to be close to the Circus. **cetera**: the story of the rape of the Sabine women (cf. *Ars* 1.101-30, Livy 1.9, Dion. Hal. 2.30; Plut. *Rom.* 14-15, who places the event in August). O. repeatedly uses the word as a euphemistic circumlocution for sex: e.g. 2.349 *cetera temptantem*, when a sadly misled Faunus is trying to rape Omphale; *Am.* 1.5.25 *cetera quis nescit?*, the climax of O.'s poem about sex with Corinna on a hot afternoon; *Am.* 3.2.84 *alio cetera redde loco*, when he signals the success of his seduction in the Circus; *Met.* 2.863 *uix cetera differt* (Jupiter grows impatient while licking Europa's hands); *Ep.* 18.105 *cetera nox et nos et turris conscia nouit* (Leander reminisces about his first night with Hero). As in *Amores* 1.5 the word announces a sudden breaking off from the story the reader

has been led to expect. **dum sua sacra canet:** a striking moment of prophecy and self-referential awareness from Mars. The prophecy turns out to be false, of course (cf. 55–7); but he does nicely characterize one of the essential elements of the *Fasti* (Miller 1983). The following gods discuss their own rites with the poet: Janus (1.95–288), Venus (4.1–18), Flora (5.183–378), Juno, Juventas, and Concordia (6.1–100), Minerva (6.651–710); and other gods tell other tales.

**201–4 intumueret Cures et quos dolor attigit idem:** Cures was the ancient town of the Sabines, 26 miles north-north-west of Rome up the Tiber valley; the name is used here for the race as a whole (2.480, 6.216). At 2.475–80 O. connects the form with *Quirites* and *Quirinus*. The anger of the Sabines is a natural response to the actions that the *dolor* of Mars has set in train: the echoes of *indolui* are pointed. Swollenness is a marker of epic (595 n.), generically apt as the narrative turns to war. **tum primum generis intulit arma socer:** the fact that Pompey had married Julius Caesar's daughter Julia (cf. Cat. 29.24) did not stop them fighting, and from Virgil on (*Aen.* 6.830–1 *aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci* | *descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois*; Lucan 1.289–90, 4.802, 10.417; Martial 9.70.3) the terms *socer* and *gener* are juxtaposed to express the horror of that intrafamilial conflict: this is the point behind Lucan's opening words, *Bella ... plus quam ciuilia* (1.1). Authors come to characterize history (especially Roman history) as a sequence of conflicts between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law: notably Sabine and Roman as here, and at *Am.* 2.12.23–4, *Met.* 14.801–2, Livy 1.13.2, Lucan 1.118; also Tarquinius Superbus and Servius Tullius at 6.595–600, Livy 1.49.1; Latinus and Aeneas at *Aen.* 7.317; the Iron Age at *Met.* 1.145; the emperor Claudius variously at Sen. *Apoc.* 11.5. **iamque:** nine months and more have swiftly passed, even more quickly than in 41–5; cf. 187 for this marker of swiftly moving narrative. **fere raptae matrum quoque nomen habebant** 'generally those who had been raped had the name of mother too'. The Latin neatly juxtaposes *raptae* and the resultant *matrum*, with their very different tones. **tractaque erant longa bella propinqua mora:** both Livy (*lente agere*, 1.10.2) and Dionysius (2.33.1) stress the slowness with which Tattius, the Sabine leader, prosecuted the war, but that forms only part of their accounts, whereas Mars has taken on enough of the elegiac spirit (cf. 175 n.) to reduce the long conflict to a single pentameter – and one that ends with an anagram of the elegiac word *amor* (which is also to be heard in the sequence *propinqua mora*). The potential for epic longueurs in describing war is brought out by Ulysses for example at *Met.* 13.205–6 *longa referre mora est quae consilioque manuque* | *utiliter feci spatiosi tempore belli*. The passing of time makes the story compatible with 2.429–52, and explains the range of different ages of the children at

the climax (221–4). *bella propinqua* are ‘wars between neighbours’, but O. plays on the other sense of *propinquus*: ‘a relative’ (*OLD* 4; cf. 2.618–19).

**205–6 nuptae**: denoting the raped women as brides implies their acceptance of what has happened; so too *nurus* (206), *coniunx* (210). **dictam Iunonis in aedem** ‘at the appointed temple, Juno’s’ (*OLD dico* 10b; cf. *Met.* 4.95 *dictaque sub arbore sedit* [Thisbe]) rather than ‘the temple named Juno’s’ (*OLD* 9), where *dictam* is superfluous. The choice of Juno’s temple again suggests the women are settled into married life, for she is the deity that oversees marriage: *Ep.* 2.41 *toris quae praesidet alma maritis*, 6.43–4; Virg. *Aen.* 1.73 *conubio iungam*, 4.166. Moreover, the involvement of Jupiter’s wife (*matrona Tonantis* at 6.33, *Met.* 2.466, *matrona Iuno* at Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.59) begins to explain why 1st March is the Matronalia. It is left open which temple of Juno is meant: though the reader is tempted to link this with Juno Lucina on the Esquiline (245–8), other accounts put the temple there far later (as opposed to the *lucus*: cf. 2.425–50), and Mars’ memory may be in error (248 n.). **quas inter** ‘amongst whom’: poets often find it convenient to place disyllabic prepositions after their nouns; cf. *Am.* 2.6.57 *has inter*, 1.11.2 *ancillas inter* (and McKeown *ad locc.*): see p. 36. **mea ... nurus ausa**: Mars is proud that it is his daughter-in-law Hersilie who has the courage to lead the women. At *Met.* 14.829–51 it is Juno who arranges her apotheosis, to become the goddess Hōra, consort of Quirinus. Gellius 13.23.13 reports a prayer by Hersilia when about to appeal to Tatius addressed to *Neria Martis* (‘Neria wife of Mars’: cf. 690 n.); O. has reasons of aetiology and narrative to link the story to the god’s mother (245–58) rather than his wife.

**207–12 pariter raptae** ‘you who were seized at the same time as I [or as each other]’; but the echo of *pare* (193) invites the reader to find the additional sense ‘to make an equal pair’ (cf. 2.437, cited in 220 n., where *pariter* seems to mean ‘in pairs’, and the ambiguous instance at *Am.* 1.3.25 *nos quoque per totum pariter cantabimur orbem*, where *pariter* = ‘equally’ and ‘as a pair’). As tradition presents it, this rape has produced well-matched marriages. **quoniam hoc commune tenemus** glosses the vocative phrase: the women are from a range of different communities, but they have in common that they were raped together, and thus they may well make common cause. **non ultra lente possumus esse piaae** ‘we cannot continue to be properly loyal while remaining inactive.’ *pietas* requires dutiful action to support and honour one’s family and country as well as the gods. When their menfolk are fighting, women would be expected to pray to the gods for their success: hence *di ... rogandi* (209); thus Rome’s *matronae* appeal to the gods at Livy 5.18.11–12 when an attack on the city is feared; Hecabe and the Trojan women supplicate Athena at *Iliad* 6.269–311 (cf. *Aen.* 1.479–82, 11.475–85). In this case, however

(*sed*, 209), they must either not seek divine aid, or summon it in opposition to one of their families, one of their peoples. Though much of the rhetoric is present already in Livy (211, 217 nn.), this appeal to *pietas* is not. **stant acies**: concision brings out how urgent it is for the women to act. The next three lines vividly express their stark dilemma: *utra ... pro parte, hinc coniunx, hinc pater; uiduae ... an orbae*. By forcing her colleagues in distress to face the impossibility of the choice, Hersilie gets them to see that it is best to avoid the dilemma, and by acting in an unstereotypical way (*forte*, 212) to use their maternal feeling to overcome the martial instincts of the men. **quaerendum est uiduae fieri malitis an orbae**: as at 4.717 *uacca sit an taurus non est cognoscere promptum* and 4.879, *an* helps the reader to supply *utrum* to introduce the first of the alternative indirect questions. The antithesis copies Livy 1.13.3 *melius peribimus quam sine alteris uestrum uiduae aut orbae uiuemus*. **consilium ... forte piumque**: the final words quoted return to the theme of *pietas* broached in 208. The plan will help redefine family and state, and thus enable the women to have acted dutifully (as the praise of their fathers shows: *laudatas*, 227). They display *pietas*, but by being *fortes*, not *lentae* (208). *fortis* is an adjective that more typically characterizes male fighters; thus previously in the *Fasti* of the Fabii at 2.229, and of Tarquin at 2.688, *uir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen*. Lucretia provides a parallel (cf. 213 n.), when Brutus swears by her *fortem castumque cruorem* (2.841; cf. also 2.847 *animi matrona uiril*).

**213–16 consilium dederat**: the reworking of *consilium dabo* makes for a teasing marker of the end of Hersilie's speech: the speech clearly continues, but the quotation does not. Despite the repetition of *consilium*, the details are kept hidden; even to the reader who knows the traditional story this involves suspense (is O. going to change things in some way?), but only briefly, until the plan is seen in action (217–24). **crinesque resoluunt**: loosening their hair and dressing in dark clothing makes them look prepared for the funerals they hope to avoid. Their appearance and its rhetorical power match that of another victim of rape, Lucretia, who sits with hair spread, dressed like a mother ready for her son's cremation, at 2.813–18. **iam steterant acies ..., | iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat**: the action is conveniently frozen; the battle-lines are drawn (as already in 209), but the trumpet has not yet sounded. **ferro mortique paratae** 'ready for fighting and death': *ferro* functions as a synecdoche for weaponry, and then as a metonym for warfare, as in the phrase *ferrique togaeque* | *consilia* at Statius, *Siluae* 5.1.82–3.

**217–24 cum raptae ueniunt inter patresque uirosque**: the suspense is resolved – the women do intervene before battle commences, and the scene takes place as described by Livy (1.13.1–2):



tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque ueste, uicto malis muliebri pauore, ausae se inter tela uolantia inferre, ex transuerso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres, hinc uiros orantes, ne sanguine se nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem.

O. echoes much of the thought and the diction (underlined) of this account between 202 and 231. Like the rape, this scene was a favourite for artists in the modern world, including Jacques-Louis David, whose famous painting *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* is in the Louvre. **natos, pignora cara:** a significant allusion to Propertius 4.11.73 *communia pignora, natos* (which is Ovid's model also at 775–6) and *Met.* 3.134 *pignora cara, nepotes*: these children are shared pledges of the ongoing family for both father and grandfather. **medium campi:** not just 'the middle of the field', but 'the middle of the battlefield', i.e. between the two armies: for this use of *campus* cf. 2.227, 6.722. **in terram posito procubuere genu:** the approach is carefully submissive: they take the position of suppliants even though their appeal is not formally constructed as a supplication. *genu* evokes the Greek term γονάζομαι ('to clasp another's knees in entreaty'). There is an important echo of 2.437–8 *pariter nuptaeque uirique | suppliciter posito procubuere genu*, where the original Romans approach Juno Lucina to pray for offspring (cf. 243–58); cf. also 6.448 *paridas posito procubuisse genu* (of the Vestals at another moment of crisis for Rome, as Vesta's temple burns). **quasi sentirent, blando clamore** 'with a persuasive cry, as if they understood'. Similar comments are made about babies facing death at 2.405 (Romulus and Remus) *uagierunt ambo pariter: sensisse putares*, and *Ep.* 11.85–6 *uagitus dedit ille miser (sensisse putares) | quaque suum poterat uoce rogabat auum*. The author of the *Ars Amatoria* well understands that it is the appearance of the emotional appeal that matters, not the underlying truth (or lack of it): cf. *Ars* 1.617–18 *quo magis, o, faciles imitantibus este, puellae: | fiet amor uerus, qui modo falsus erat*, Ovid's instruction to his *puella* at *Am.* 1.4.70 *cras mihi constanti uoce dedisse nega*, and the parenthesis in Ulysses' persuasive speech at *Met.* 13.132–3 *manuque simul ueluti lacrimantia tersit | lumina*. **tendebant ... brachia parua:** cf. Creusa's memory of abandoning her new-born baby at Euripides, *Ion* 961 εἰ παῖδά γ' εἶδες χεῖρας ἐκτεινοντά μοι ('if you'd only seen the boy stretching out his arms to me'); less affected by such sights are the maddened Athamas (853–4 n.) seeing his son at *Met.* 4.516–17 *parua Learchum | brachia tendentem rapit*, and the rustics whom Latona will turn into frogs when despite her appeal to her twin babies they try to stop her drinking at *Met.* 6.358–9, *qui nostro brachia tendunt | parua sinu (et casu tendebant brachia nati)*. Stretching out one's arms is also the act

of a suppliant, as e.g. at *Met.* 2.477 *tendebat brachia supplex*. **clamabat auum tum denique uisum** increases the emotional intensity by reminding us that these children have never seen their grandfathers before – nor *vice versa*. Presumably what they say is the vocative *aue*, ‘grandad’. **qui uix poterat posse coactus erat**: the reader may well wonder how the babies are forced to call on their grandfathers. Perhaps their mothers pinch them, and they utter the natural exclamation *au* (a form used in comedy and at Petronius 67.13 to express surprise), or *a* and *uae*, all of which might be heard as *aue* amid the hubbub.

**225–8 tela uiris animique cadunt**: O. uses a similar syllepsis to combine violent emotion and the physical means to prosecute it at *Met.* 7.347 *cecideret illis animique manusque*: when Pelias appeals to them his daughters lose confidence in cutting up their father to regenerate him; but in that case Medea cuts his throat and the poem continues its tragic course. *uiris* refers not just to the husbands (as in 217), but combines the men of both sides. **gladiisque remotis**: the fighters are more wholehearted in their abandonment of arms than Mars is at 172. **dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus**: the war finishes with an inversion of *generis intulit arma socer* (202): there arms come between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law; here (arms having been discarded) the two are juxtaposed, and enclosed within the reciprocal gestures of friendship: cf. 6.95 *lare communi soceros generosque receptos*. **scutoque nepotem | fert auus**: the end of the military sequence is further expressed by a striking transformation of the use of the shield: no longer needed for defence, it becomes a carrycot. Thus at Theocritus, *Id.* 24.4–10 Alcmena uses a shield as a cradle for Hercules and Iphicles, and at Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.742–6, in the ecphrasis of the Cloak of Jason, Cytherea (= Venus) employs the shield of Ares (= Mars) as a mirror. Focus on the shield looks ahead to the appearance of the *ancilia* on this day (259–60, 373–96). For further implications see n. on *Oebaliae matres* (230).

**229–34** Having told his story, Mars has now to show how it provides an aetiology for the date of the Matronalia – and does not succeed: the action of the new Roman wives is to bring about the end of warfare (232), not to celebrate the god of war, and he has given O. no reason to think that the battle they interrupt occurs on 1st March. **inde** ‘consequently’ or perhaps ‘thenceforth’: together with the reminiscence of 170 *matronae cur tua festa colant*, this points to the conclusion of the aetiological narrative, as at 391, 695. The ambiguity brings out the incoherence of the argument here – Roman women have reason to celebrate Juno, and familial harmony, but not Mars. **diem quae prima mea est celebrare quotannis**: *quotannis* (conjectured by Watt 1995: 104–5 as a replacement for *kalendas*, likely to be a gloss on the earlier part of the line) marks ceremonies

as recurrent at 5.629, Virg. *Ecl.* 1.42, 5.67, 5.79, 7.33, *Aen.* 5.59, and Tib. 1.1.35. For the possessive referring to the deity of the month, see 429 n. **inde ... aut quia ... uel quod**: the change of phrasing and structure in a list of possible explanations is like that at 773–8 (see n.). There are at least two ways of analysing this sequence: *aut quia* could offer an alternative to *inde* ('as a result of this ... or because'), or *aut* might rather equate to 'either', implying that one or more alternative reasons is to be given. The move to *uel* then implies the change of structure, which is confirmed when a different main clause follows. **Oebaliae matres** 'Spartan *matronae*'. The epithet is derived from the Spartan king Oebalus, and exploits the tradition that the Sabines were of Spartan origin (*FRHist* 5F50–1 = Dion. Hal. 2.49, DServ. *Aen.* 8.638). O. has used it of the Sabine leader Tatius at 1.260; it here describes the women who were originally Sabine, though they have become Roman (cf. *Latiae*, 243). More significantly, after 227–8 it activates a contrast with the traditional Spartan mother, who demanded that her sons return from battle either with or on their shields (so Fucecchi): cf. e.g. Val. Max. 2.7.ext.2 *maternarum blanditiarum memores quae eis exituris ad proeliandum monebantur ut aut uiui cum armis in conspectum earum uenirent aut mortui in armis referrentur*, Plutarch, *Apothegm. Lac.* 241F 16–17. No absolute demand for death or glory from these women, and as a result the Sabine shield has become a carrycot, not a bier. **committi strictis mucronibus ausae**: the passing reference in 206 to the boldness of Hersilie in speaking is matched by a more physical daring to close the episode; cf. Livy 1.13.1 *ausae se inter tela uolantia inferre*. For the passive used as the equivalent to a reflexive expression, G&L §218 offers Cic. *Fam.* 9.15.4 *ponor ad scribendum* ('I set myself to writing'); see K-S 1.106–8 for many further examples. **finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis**: an emphatic statement of the speaker's subjugation, appropriately placed in a pentameter: in the conflict between epic war and tears, it is tears, the symbols of elegy (*Ep.* 15.7–8; Hinds 1992: 105–7; Heyworth 2007: 429), that have won. Tears are lacking from the otherwise similar expressions at Plutarch, *Rom.* 21.1 (on rituals adopted by the combined Roman/Sabine state: 'one of these was the Matronalia, granted to the women for their ending of the war') and Serv. *Aen.* 8.638 *nec enim aliter congruit Martias kalendas esse feminarum, nisi quia ... feminae bella sedarunt*. **uel quod erat de me feliciter Ilia mater**: Mars comes up with an alternative cause for the timing of the Matronalia – he successfully made Ilia a mother: this is delightfully absurd, given that she was a Vestal Virgin, never a *matrona*, and their relationship has been fully described in a single verse (21). For *de* ('thanks to'), see *OLD* 14. **rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum**: the phrase invites the reader to supply *mea* with *sacra*, but it is not at all clear that the rites celebrated by the *matronae* were for Mars: *me frequentat* at 251 may simply mean that they came out in

large numbers on 1st March. The *Fasti Praenestini* entry for the day begins *Feriae Marti*, before the longer note on the rites of Juno Lucina (248 n.). Degraasi 1963: 417-18 relates this to the altar of Mars on the Campus (*LTUR* 3.223-6; Festus 204.16 Lindsay); he accepts, however, that the absence of the festival from the *Fasti Antiaties* may confirm the theory that the Matronalia had obscured the lesser event. Ovid's treatment as a whole carries the same implication.

**235-42** Spring is a suitable time for mothers to celebrate fecundity. The poetic tradition is rich in descriptions of the delights of spring weather (see e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 10.1, Lucretius 1.6-20, Virgil, *Ecl.* 9.40-2, *Geo.* 1.43-4, 1.338-42, 2.323-35, Horace, *Carm.* 1.4, with Nisbet & Hubbard, 4.7, 4.12), and not surprisingly the *Fasti* maintains the didactic and calendrical tradition: cf. in particular 1.151-9, 4.125-32. *Tristia* 3.12 sets up a contrast between the activities of spring in Italy and Rome (1-26) and those O. experiences in Tomi, which do not extend beyond the absence of snow and ice (27-30). Mars' account runs from the change in the weather, through the growth of leaves, buds, and shoots, to agricultural fertility, the procreation of domestic animals, and the nest-building of birds. **quid quod** 'what of the fact that ...?': a slightly prosaic transition formula: see Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 265, McKeown on *Am.* 1.14.5. The phrase gives a vivid touch to the introduction of a new action, as at 4.117 *quid quod ubique potens templisque frequentibus aucta*, | *urbe tamen nostra ius dea maius habet*? where (on top of a succession of arguments in 4.23-116) the number of temples Venus possesses in Rome shows that she deserves the honour of a month too. **hiems adoperta gelu tum denique cedit**: *adoperta gelu* ('covered with ice') describes winter as if it were the earth as affected by the snow and frost of the season. *tum denique* looks back to the warnings about winter's halting departure in February: 2.152 *magnaue discedens signa reliquit hiems*, and 2.853-6, where the swallow arrives, but often too soon, to find that winter returns. *cedit* is repeated with an equivalent subject at 4.87 *densaque cedit* | *frigoris asperitas*. **pereunt lapsae sole tepente niues** 'snow slips away and vanishes in the warmth of the sun': for the mix of participle and present tense to describe the melting of snow, cf. Lucan 9.781-2 *calido non ocius Austro* | *nix resoluta cadit*. The equivalent phrase at *Trist.* 3.12.27 *nix uerno sole soluta* presents a rare positive aspect to life in Tomi. The mountainous terrain of much of Italy makes snowmelt an important feature of the spring: thus the commentator Pomponius took Horace, *Carm.* 4.12.3-4 *nec fluvii strepunt* | *hiberna niue turgidi* to be a reference to late spring. *Carm.* 4.7 begins *Diffugere niues*; O. uses a compound of *ire* to set up the following contrast with *redeunt*. **arboribus redeunt ... frondes**: the phrasing again draws on Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.1-2 *redeunt iam gramina campis* | *arboribusque comae*. **detonsae frigore**: Horace's odes

on spring repeatedly emphasize the succession of the seasons (e.g. in *Carm.* 4.7.9–12 *frigora mitescunt Zephyris, uer proterit aestas, | interitura simul | pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox | bruma recurrit iners*); though O. is less pessimistic about the passing of time, he too takes the opportunity to remind the reader that the leaves that return to the trees only replace those that have been ‘shorn off’ by the cold of autumn, a concept that comes loaded with notions of mortality thanks to Virgil’s simile for the numbers of dead souls on the banks of the Styx at *Aen.* 6.309–10: *quam multa in siluis autumnū frigore primo | lapsa cadunt folia* (cf. *Iliad* 6.146–7). **uuidaue in tenero palmite gemma tumet**: the second half of the line repeats 1.152 *et noua de grauido palmite gemma tumet*, with new epithets in the first half (*tenero* matching *noua*, *uuida* [‘moist with sap’] matching *grauido*); cf. also 4.128 *nunc tumido gemmas cortice palmes agit*, and *Trist.* 3.12.13–15. **quaeque diu latuit** reprises *Trist.* 3.12.11–12 *herbaque quae latuit ... exerit ... cacumen*. **qua se tollat in auras | ... inuenit herba uias** ‘the fresh plant finds paths, a route by which to raise itself into the air’ (the subjunctive expresses purpose): cf. 4.127 *herbae rupta tellure cacumina tollunt*. *herba* in such a context is not ‘grass’, but any green stem of an annual growing up from seed (*TLL* s.v. 2622.57–2623.28). Most of the MSS read *se qua*, but O. would gain nothing by placing the unemphatic reflexive in advance of the clause to which it belongs, and it is quite common for sequences of monosyllables to be disordered in transmission (e.g. 209 *sint pro | pro sint F*). **nunc ... nunc ... nunc**: the echo of Virg. *Ecl.* 3.56–7 *nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos, | nunc frondent siluae, nunc formosissimus annus* is nicely combined with variation of 1.151 *omnia tunc florent, tunc est noua temporis aetas*, where O. asks Janus why January not spring is the start of the year. *nunc ... nunc* recurs in the spring passages at 4.127–8, Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.9–11; *iam ... iam* at Cat. 46.1–2. **pecoris ... creandi**: this may refer both to the action of the parents (cf. 409, e.g.) and to the encouragement of the environment, including the herdsman (cf. 4.95 [Venus] *deos omnes ... creauit*, *Ep.* 5.153 *graminibus tellus fecunda creandis*). **auis in ramo tecta laremque parat**: a more general version of the nest-building of the swallow, which O. has described at 1.158 *luteum celsa sub trabe figit opus*, and *Trist.* 3.12.9–10 *hirundo | sub trabibus cunas tectaque parua facit*. Here he caps the anthropomorphic *cunas tectaque* of the *Tristia* by identifying the bird’s nest with the religious centre of the Roman household. Virgil talks similarly of bees at *Geo.* 4.43 *sub terra fouere larem*, and the pairing with *tecta* echoes his phrase on the African nomad, *Geo.* 3.343–4 *omnia secum | armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque*.

**243–4 tempora iure colunt Latiae fecunda parentes**: spring is rightly a time for celebration of fertility (and April, introduced in 4.1 by the epithet *Alma*, will offer rituals to Venus, Cybele, Ceres, and Pales, representing

respectively sex, motherhood, crops, and herds). *parentes* glosses *matres* to evoke the Matronalia. *fecunda* repeats *fecundus* (241), which has been backed up by a series of words with similar connotations in 238–41 (*uuida, tumet, fertilis, creandi*). But Mars still does not establish a link between such celebration and his own divinity, though he tries hard in the pentameter. *Latiae* reinforces the echo of the programme given in 1.1 *Tempora cum cauis Latium digesta per annum*. **quarum militiam uotaque partus habet** ‘whose childbirth involves brave campaigning and prayers’, the climax of Mars’ specious rhetoric: while it is true that childbirth is attended by prayers and can be compared to warfare, it does not follow that he is the god whom mothers worship. For the comparison of childbirth to *militia*, see Euripides, *Medea* 248–51 (translated by Ennius, *Trag.* 232–3 Jocelyn), and Canace at *Ep.* 11.48, describing herself as a *noua miles* in giving birth for the first time.

**245–8 adde quod**: another lively formula of transition (cf. *quid quod*, 235), also used at 143, 6.663: see McKeown on *Am.* 1.14.13. **rex Romanus**: i.e. Romulus himself, the only king mentioned in the section (but perhaps reflecting the unspecific *regis* at Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.49). The snatched Sabine women have met in a temple of Juno at 205, the *lucus* of Juno on the Esquiline is dated to Romulus’ reign at 2.429–36, and his fight against Tatius and Sabines had already been associated with *excubias* (‘night-watches’) at Prop. 4.4.79 *Romulus excubias decreuit in otia solui* (for celebration of the Parilia). At *Ling. Lat.* 5.74, however, Varro attributes to Tatius the foundation of an altar to Lucina.. **excubias ... qui nunc Esquilias nomina collis habet**: though with *nomina* and the aetiological *nunc* (412 n.) it raises the topic of etymology, the pentameter (‘the hill that now has the name Esquiline’) does not directly express the supposed derivation, but leaves it implied by the placing of the two related nouns at the same point in the line. Cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.49 *secundae regionis Esquiliae. alii has scripserunt ab excubiis regis dictas, alii ab eo quod excultae a rege Tullio essent*; he goes on to prefer the latter definition, because the spread of agriculture is shown by the small extent of four sacred *luci* there, including that of Juno Lucina, on the northern part of the hill, the Cispan (but see *DAR* 349 for questions about the siting). Mars, in his continuing attempt to link the Matronalia with his own concerns, not only chooses the etymology that derives *Esquiliae* from military activity, but places *excubiae* emphatically first. For the apposition *Esquilias nomina*, cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 221–2 *Hippocrenen | fontes nomen habent*. **illic a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis**: *illic* confirms that *ubi* in 245 is locative in force. There is thus no direct conflict between the claim here and 375 BC, the date given by Pliny, *Nat.* 16.235 for the establishment of the *area* (i.e. sacred precinct) of Juno Lucina within the existing *lucus*: the informed

reader can spot that several centuries have lapsed between the activities of the king that gave the hill its name and the foundation of the temple by *matronae*. Once again Mars' argumentation is not well grounded. **hac sunt, si memini, publica facta die**: despite the caution implied by the parenthesis, the calendrical date is confirmed by the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, Festus 131.25–6 Lindsay, and both the date and the extraordinary fact of a foundation by women by the *Fasti Praenestini*: *Iun[o]ni Lucinae Exquiliis, quod eo die aedis ei d[edicat]a est per matronas, quam uouerat Albin[i] filia* uel *uxor, si puerum [parientem]que ipsa[m] fouisset*. Albinus and his family feature at Livy 5.40.9–10, in a different story about the Sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 BC; this is congruent with Pliny's date (375). But Merli 2000: 110–13 acutely suggests that Mars' memory may be at fault rather in describing the Sabine women as meeting in Juno's temple (205); contrast *Met.* 14.813–14 where his memory accurately recalls a line (54) from Ennius, *Annales*.

**249–52 quid moror ... ecce**: closural devices, as at *Rem.* 461, *Met.* 8.879, Virg. *Aen.* 6.528 (*quid moror*); and 723 (cf. *OLD* *ecce* 3). Here the effect is increased by the inversion of *iuuat ... morari* in the second couplet of Mars' speech (175); the sense of enclosure is strengthened when *quod petis* in the pentameter directly recalls the same phrase in 178. **onero**: for the weight of a burden as a metaphor for literary excess, cf. Prop. 1.12.14, 3.9.5; and 33 n. **pectora** 'mind' (178 n.). **mater amat matres: matrum me turba frequentat**: *matres* is 'married women' as much as 'mothers' here: see *OLD* *mater* 1c for the sense, which is necessary at 2.441, *Ep.* 8.66 *Tantalidum* [Delz] *matres*, and quite often works best (e.g. 1.619, 4.423, Virg. *Aen.* 2.797, 5.622). The MSS read *nuptas*, apparently a gloss giving the unorthodox sense of *matres*, which it has replaced, perhaps when *matres* dropped out before *matrum*. The line as a whole plays on the ambiguity of *mater*: it is actual or would-be mothers who most suitably worship at the shrine of Lucina, but the Matronalia is an occasion for the *materfamilias*. Lucina supports *matres*, Juno loves *matronae*. Other than the date, Mars' only part in the celebration is through his mother: *me turba frequentat* superficially implies that the crowd of women comes to his shrine, but the evidence suggests rather that they go to Juno Lucina, and *me* means simply 'my day'. **nos**: after *me*, this is most easily taken as a real plural: the son honours his mother by letting her festival coincide with his *Feriae*, the mother honours the son by having her festival on the first day of his month – but there is nothing distinctive in that, as Juno was worshipped on the Kalends of every month (170 n.). The final *causa* for the coincidence, the one Mars finds most compelling, is thus essentially 'because Juno, goddess of the *materfamilias*, is my mother'.

**253–8 *ferre deae flores*:** as at 703, there is no specific marker of the end of the god's speech. On the one hand, 249–52 are strongly closural, both in returning to expressions and topics from the opening, and in the specific assertion of 252 that the final action is a suitable one. There is also a marked change of register: in 251 *mater* denotes Juno, in 253–4 *dea*. On the other, there is some amusement to be derived from the bellicose Mars talking about flowers and childbirth, quietly concealing the fact that he owes his own existence to a flower (5.229–60); and Feeney (2011: 78–9) notes that the question *Quis mihi nunc dicet?* in 259 is pointed for a reader who has been trying to assess where Mars' words end. *ferre* is the first of five jussives: ritual instruction fits well within the didactic mode. *flores* initiates a sequence (... *florentibus* ... *flore*) that matches the sacred context, and it is quickly followed by more obviously hymnic repetition, with *dicite tu* in 255 and 256. Such celebratory language follows other interviews with gods (1.283–8, 4.17–162, 5.375–8); here alone it focuses on a different deity – Mars is elided. ***gaudet florentibus herbis* | *haec dea*:** Juno has good reason to find pleasure in flowers, given that it was the goddess Flora who fulfilled her wish for a child to match Jupiter's motherless production of Minerva, and that she did so with the touch of a flower (5.251–6). ***tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti*:** at 2.449–50 O. has offered alternative etymologies for the name Lucina: *gratia Lucinae: dedit haec tibi nomina lucus, | aut quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes*; there he describes worship in the goddess's *lucus* (2.435–40; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 16.235); but here (as at 6.39) he has no reason to favour that origin for the name, and prefers derivation from *lux*: cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.69, Cic. *D.N.D.* 2.68. Lucina was the Roman goddess of childbirth (*Ep.* 6.122, 11.55, Prop. 4.1.99–102, Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 13–16, e.g.), sometimes identified with Diana (Cat. 34.13–14, Virg. *Ecl.* 4.10, Sen. *Ag.* 367–70), and equivalent to the Greek Ilithyia (a name O. uses at *Am.* 2.13.21, *Met.* 9.283). ***tu uoto parturientis ades*** 'please respond to the prayer of the mother giving birth'. On *ades* as a jussive addressed to a deity, see 2 n.; here it is followed by the dative of the sacred act to which Lucina is asked to respond, as at 1.5–6 *officio ... tibi deuoto ... ades*, *Trist.* 3.1.78. ***grāuidā*:** a possible echo of *Grādūe* (169), which would sum up the passage's movement from war to childbirth. ***resoluto crine*:** cf. D.Serv. *Aen.* 4.518 *Iunonis Lucinae sacra non licet accedere nisi solutis nodis*. ***ut soluat partus*:** the connexion between *soluat* and *resoluto* illustrates the sympathetic 'magic' that is endemic in Roman religion: if the ritual aims at loosening a bond, or resolution, the worshipper ostentatiously loosens clothing; see Frazer and Bömer, and e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4.518, where Dido is seeking release from her love for Aeneas (contrast the binding rituals of *Met.* 9.281–315 and Virg. *Ecl.* 8.77–8). ***molliter*:** an elegiac end to the passage: 278 n.



**259–392** Numa, Mamurius, and the Salii

The sequential account of early Rome continues, as Ovid explains the origin of the dancing priesthood, the Salii, who carried unusually shaped shields as they leapt around the streets of the city on a number of days in March (385–8). However, the Salii feature only at the beginning and end of the passage (260, 387–92), and Ovid takes the opportunity to tell tales about the second king, Numa, known for his emphasis on religion and law rather than warfare (277–84), reviser of Romulus' calendar (151–4), and a recurrent figure in the *Fasti*: he appears, at least in passing, in every book, including the aetiological narrative for the Fordicidia at 4.641–72. As at *Metamorphoses* 15.479–551 O. here explores Numa's relationship with Egeria, wife, inspiration and water nymph (cf. Anna at 653–4), and Egeria's with the grove of Diana at Aricia (261–76). Despite the wisdom of this pair, Rome's peace is disrupted by frequent thunderstorms: verses 285–348 recount Numa's invention of the rite performed to appease Jupiter 'Elicius' in the hope of expiating thunderbolts. However, even Numa is unable to draw Jupiter down to earth unaided, and he first has to seek the aid of the local gods Faunus and Picus, whom he captures in a grove on the Aventine (291–322). Jupiter, though he enjoys Numa's banter (343–4), does not stop throwing thunderbolts, but he does offer the king a pledge of *imperium*, which turns out to be a shield that descends from heaven the following dawn (345–74). Numa treats this not as a symbol of warfare, however, but turns it into an artefact to be imitated and an object of religious celebration (375–92). This closing section concentrates on the craftsman, Mamurius, and the song of the Salii rather than their arms.

The stories are traditional, but the particular combination of them is Ovid's (345–6 n.; Pasco-Pranger 2006: 86–98). He takes the opportunity to bring out the ways in which Numa is like himself: peace-loving and concerned with Rome's religious life, inspired by the Muse-like Egeria (154 n.), engaging in conversations with deities (n.b. 344), defending himself against imputations of wickedness (309–10), skilled with words and provoking laughter (339–43). Numa himself is not an artist, but as ruler he encourages others in the artistic act of imitation and rewards the successful Mamurius. His is a Rome where statesman and artist collaborate; for contrasts with Virgil's version of regal history, see Barchiesi 1997a: 174–7.

**259–60** *Quis mihi nunc dicet*: for a story of supernatural events in the distant past O. seeks an external authority (199–200 n.). Given that Mars has been speaking, at least up to 252 (see 253 n.), he might seem the obvious informant for questions about *Martis arma*, but a more reliable source will be found (Merli 2000: 117–21). **caelestia Martis | arma**: the phrase

looks forward and back. The *ancile* falls from heaven at 371–4, but Mars plays no part in the coming episode (392 n.). *Martis* rather makes a link back to the god of war and of the month. The *Fasti Praenestini* mark the day as *Feriae Marti* (234 n.); O. implies that this is because of the ritual of the Salii; so, more explicitly, Livy 1.20.4 (underlined is diction picked up here and in 387–8):

Salios item duodecim Marti Gradiuo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.

So too Pomponius on Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.11–12 *Salii autem sacerdotes Martis hodieque tripudiare in sacrificiis Martis dicuntur*, while Camillus at Livy 5.52.7 associates the Salii with Mars and Quirinus, Serv. *Aen.* 8.663 with Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus. **quare ... arma ferant Salii**: the narrative will explain the origin of the *ancilia*, but says nothing about why they are paraded or why the Salii were chosen to do this. Indeed this is the most we get to hear about their bearing of arms (cf. 387–8). **Mamuriumque canant**: 390–2 n.

**261–2 nympa ... Numae coniunx**: it is a neat twist that O., having used Mars as narrator of the Matronalia, the ritual of married women, turns to the nymph Egeria as inspiration for the martial activities of the Salii, and stresses her role as a wife here and in 276 (Stok 2004: 69). **mone**: a very loaded word (cf. 154 *Egeria ... monente*), using the alliteration with *nympae*, *nemoris*, and *Numae* to imply Egeria's role as a Muse: she is a water nymph, like the Camenae, the Roman equivalents to the Muses (Livius Andronicus fr. 1, Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.21, Prop. 3.10.1), with whom she is regularly associated (275), and she is called on here to provide Ovid with information (167 n.) as well as inspiration (274). Dion. Hal. 2.60.5 reports that some held her to be actually one of the Muses; and the fragment of Ennius that mentions her (*Ann.* 113) fits the role too: *olli respondit suavis sonus Egeriai. monere* is linked etymologically with *monumentum* and *memoria* (see Maltby 1991 s.vv.), and the soundplay thus evokes the Muses as daughters of Mnemosyne (178 n.). Virgil uses *mone* to invoke Erato at *Aen.* 7.41; O. addresses *moneas* to her at 4.247, and *mone* to another Muse figure, Carmentis, at 1.467 *ipsa mone, quae nomen habes a carmine ductum*. The nexus here also involves Mamurius Veturius (260, 389–92), whose name was glossed thus by Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 6.49): *Salii quod* [perhaps a corruption of *cum*] *cantant 'mamuri ueturi' significant memoriam ueterem; ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria; sic monumenta quae in sepulcris* ('In that the Salii sing *mamuri ueturi*, they mean "ancient memory"; from the same root comes *monere*, because he who reminds would

be just like a memory; so too the memorials on tombs'). **nemori stagnoque operata Dianae**: as 275 restates, Egeria is 'engaged in religious activity' in providing water for the grove of Diana at Lago di Nemi (hence the description of her as *nemori gratissima coniunx* at 4.66g). The datives *nemori stagnoque* stand by metonymy for the cult of Diana, as *sistris* does for that of Isis at *Ars* 3.635 *Phariae sistris operata iuuencae*; cf. *Met.* 7.746 *studiis operata Dianae* (i.e. hunting), *Hor. Carm.* 3.14.6 *iustis operata sacris*, *Livy* 1.31.8 *operatum his sacris*. Here in the *Fasti* Egeria aptly assists in the cult, whereas at *Met.* 15.487–91, her mourning after Numa's death impedes it:

coniunx urbe relicta  
uallis Aricinae densis latet abdita siluis  
sacraque Oresteae gemitu questuque Dianae  
impedit. a! quotiens nymphae nemorisque lacusque  
ne faceret monuere ...

As the underlining of shared phrasing suggests, the passages were designed to play off one another. The proximity of *nemori* to *Numa* (repeated at 309, 4.667–9, *Met.* 15.487–90) implies an etymological connexion: Deremetz (2013: 236–8) argues that the king's name combines νόμος and *nemus*, Greek and Roman, order and wildness (cf. 153–4). **ad tua facta ueni**: Egeria is summoned to be present for the story of her actions, providing advice for Numa (276, 289–94) and inspiring water to O. (273–5). Despite *quis* ... *dicet*, she does not address the poet directly: similar are the passages after 1.467 (cited above), 4.808 *ades factis, magne Quirine, tuis*, and 6.483–6, in which Carmentis, Romulus, and Bacchus respectively appear in the third person; cf. also 714–90, 1.3–12 (Germanicus), 709–22 (Pax), 4.723–82 (Pales); elsewhere gods do respond in person to aetiological questions (167, 200 nn.).

**263–6 uallis Aricinae silua praecinctus opaca | est lacus**: the ecphrasis of Nemi enters the volcanic crater near the town of Aricia, and then passes through the wood that surrounds the lake and gives it its name, the *lacus Nemorensis* (Prop. 3.22.25; cf. 261, 266). For a modern discussion of the shrine, see Green 2007 (222–31 on Egeria). References to the shrine are common in Latin poetry: a selection will be cited on the most relevant verses. *est lacus* (also at *Met.* 9.334) plays on *est locus*, the default opening for a geographical ecphrasis (Hinds 1987a: 36–8), used by O. at 2.491, 4.337, *Met.* 2.195, 8.788, 15.332, *Pont.* 3.2.45, *Ep.* 16.53, and going back to Ennius, *Ann.* 20, which Virgil copies at *Aen.* 1.530 [= 3.163]; cf. also 295 *lucus ... suberat*. **antiqua religione sacer**: the primitive nature of the priesthood (271–2) also suggested that there was something alien about the cult (*Met.* 14.331 *Scythicae stagnum nemorale Dianae*, Strabo 5.3.12), and became the starting point of *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1911–15; cf. Gee

1998), a foundational work in the anthropological study of mythology and religion. The phrasing echoes Virgil's ecphrasis of the grove of Silvanus at *Aen.* 8.598, *est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem, | religione patrum late sacer*.

**hic latet:** Hippolytus is hidden at Nemi, partly because it is far from Greece, in an enclosed valley in Latium, a good place to hide (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.322–3 [Saturn] *Latiumque uocari | maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris*), and partly because of the change of his name to Virbius: cf. 6.755–6 *lucus eum nemorisque tui, Dictynna, recessus | celat: Aricino Virbius ille lacu; Met.* 15.542–6 (Hippolytus tells how Diana brought him to Nemi):

hic posuit nomenque simul, quod possit equorum  
admonuisse, iubet deponere, quique fuisti  
Hippolytus dixit nunc idem Virbius esto.  
hoc nemus inde colo de disque minoribus unus  
numine sub dominae lateo atque accenseor illi.

and Virg. *Aen.* 7.774–7:

at Triuia Hippolytum secretis alma recondit  
sedibus et nymphae Egeriae nemorique relegat,  
solus ubi in siluis Italis ignobilis aeuum  
exigeret uersoque ubi nomine Virbius esset.

**Hippolytus:** son of Theseus and the Amazon Hippolyte, a huntsman and chaste follower of Diana. His step-mother Phaedra fell in love with him in Theseus' absence; he rejected her advances, and she, fearing that he would expose her on his father's return, accused him of attempted rape. Theseus exiled and cursed his son, and as he drove along the coast a bull sent by Neptune from the sea terrified the horses so they ran wild, entangling Hippolytus in the reins when he fell from the chariot. The story is familiar to us from the extant *Hippolytus* of Euripides, imitated in Seneca's *Phaedra*; but there were other versions (e.g. tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides), and Ovid himself deals with the myth in Phaedra's letter (*Ep.* 4), at 6.735–62, and *Met.* 15.497–546. Both in *Fasti* 6 and *Met.* 15 O. goes on to describe how Aesculapius revived him and he came to the shrine of Diana in Latium, a story that appeared already in Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 190).

**loris direptus equorum:** a summary of the denouement of the tragedy, and a gloss on the hero's name ('Broken apart by horses'); cf. 5.310 *diripereris equis*, Virg. *Aen.* 7.767 *distractus equis*. **equorum, | unde ... nullis ... equis:** for the aetiological phrasing cf. 117–18, and the equivalent moment in Virgil's account, *Aen.* 7.778–9 *unde etiam templo Triuiae lucisque sacratis | cornipedes arcentur equi*.

**267–72 licia dependent longas uelantia saepes** 'threads hang down covering the long hedges': both *longas* and *uelantia* stress how impressive is the

honour paid to the shrine by those who have been successful in their vows (as the next two verses help clarify). Bömer cites two passages (though with *uittae* rather than *licia*) that illustrate the votive practice: as well as the strips of fabric, *Met.* 8.744-5 *uittae mediam memoresque tabellae | sartaque cingebant, uoti argumenta potentum* shares the tablets, the garlands and the successful prayers; and *Stat. Theb.* 2.737-8 (Tydeus' vow to Athena, if he comes home victorious) *ab arbore casta | nectent purpureas niueo discrimine uittas* follows a previous reference to torches. **potens uoti** 'having been granted her prayer', as at 5.258, *Met.* 8.745 (cited above): *potens* with a genitive means 'in control of', hence 'having'. **femina lucentes portat ab Vrbe faces:** in 2.32 Propertius complains about Cynthia's parading herself outside the city, including participation in this torchlit procession at 8-10 *turba ... uidet accensis deuotam currere taedis | in nemus et Triuiæ lumina ferre deae*. Statius uses the date of the rite (13th August) to denote high summer at *Silu.* 3.1.55-7: *iamque dies aderat profugis cum regibus aptum | fumat Aricinum Triuiæ nemus et face multa | conscius Hippolyti splendet lacus*. **regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces:** the priesthood was held by a runaway slave who had succeeded in killing the previous holder of the position. At the end of his list of places where a *puella* may be found, *Ars* 1.259-60 *ecce suburbanæ templum nemorale Dianæ | partaque per gladios regna nocente manu*, O. stresses the violence; at *Silu.* 3.1.55 (cited above), Statius writes of the 'kings' as 'runaways'. Ovid's adjectival phrases make the priests into equivalents of the Iliadic heroes: Achilles is not only the greatest fighter, but also, in the formulaic description, πῶδας ὠκύς ('swift of foot', 1.58, 84 etc.); however, for all Achilles' heroism, Agamemnon can claim to be 'more kingly' (βασιλεύτερος, 9.160), whereas the *rex Nemorensis* holds kingship too – until he is killed in the pentameter. **perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo:** at 35.3 in his life of Caligula (who had two floating palaces constructed for use on the lake) Suetonius tells a typically grim story about the emperor's setting up a stronger adversary for a 'king' who had held the priesthood for many years.

**273-6** The lengthy description of Nemi makes no contribution to the following narrative; the *locus amoenus* serves rather as the setting for Egeria's spring, which produces a metapoetic climax, exploiting the old association of the Muses with springs (Hesiod, *Theog.* 3-6; cf. *Pont.* 4.2.47 *tu, cui bibitur felicius Aonius fons*) and the traditions of artful poetry of the Callimachean stamp as produced by those who drink water from a pure fountain (*Call. Hymn* 2.108-12; *Prop.* 3.1.3; 3.3; *Wimmel* 1960: 222-33; *Heyworth* 1994: 63-7). **defluit incerto lapidosus murmure riuus:** the little stream is so shallow that it flows with a 'fitful' or 'varying' noise as it passes over the pebbles (*OLD incertus* 12). The image is a charming

one, perhaps intended to evoke the elegiac couplet (Littlewood on 6.22), and it allows O. to use *lapidosus* and thus evoke (with uncertain sound) the Greek λεπτός ('fine'), which the Hellenistic poet Aratus turned into a famous acrostich at *Phaen.* 783–7, alluded to in epigrams by Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.* 9.507), Leonidas (*Anth. Pal.* 9.25), and others; Callimachus used an alternative form λεπταλέην to describe his own Muse at *Aet.* fr. 1.24. A similar echo of λεπτός has been seen in Catullus' description of his *libellus* as *lepidus* (1.1). **saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi:** the culmination of the ecphrasis (cf. 299 n.). It may be a biographical truth that O. had drunk from the stream while still in Italy, but more important are the reflections on poetic tradition and style. He has touched on Egeria or Nemi in *Amores* (2.17.18), *Ars*, and *Met.*, as well as the *Fasti*; and he has done so in writing of 'small' scale, such as Apollo urged on Callimachus in the *Aetia* prologue, a text brought to mind by *saepe*, the Latin equivalent to πολλάκι, now thought to have been the first word of the poem (Harder *ad loc.*). Others had used similar language: the Augustan epigrammatist Antipater of Thessalonica, at *Anth. Pal.* 11.24 (addressed to the Boeotian spring Helicon, 'often you gushed eloquent water for Hesiod from your fountains') πολλάκις ὕδωρ | εὐεπὲς ἐκ πηγέων ἔβλυσας Ἡσιόδωι; and Lucretius, who takes pleasure in visiting untouched springs and drinking from them (*haurire*) at 1.927–8, but who also promises Memmius something grand: *largos haustus e fontibus magnis* (1.412). By contrast, *exiguus* is a frequent marker of the small-scale refinement of elegy: see e.g. Littlewood on 6.22; Horace, *Ars* 77 *exiguos elegos*; Prop. 3.9.36 (a metapoetic passage) *tota sub exiguo flumine nostra mora est*, 4.1.59; *Pont.* 3.3.33, 3.4.5. **Egeria est quae praebet aquas:** the name is given to a spring at Nemi also by Strabo 5.3.12; Ogilvie on Livy 1.21.3 plausibly argues that Egeria was imported to Rome from there. According to Augustine, *C.D.* 7.35, Varro derived the name from *egerere* and Numa's habit of 'bringing out' water to perform hydromancy. In the modern world the name has been applied to the spring set in a second-century AD nymphaeum in the Parco della Caffarella a little way down the Via Appia, and to a brand of bottled water popular in Italy. **dea grata Camenis:** Egeria is repeatedly associated with the Camenae (261 n.), nymphs of a spring just outside the *porta Capena*, the start of the Via Appia (*DAR* 282; 13, 295 nn.); Livy 1.21.3, Vitruvius 8.3.1, Juvenal 3.16, Martial 6.47.4, Serv. *Aen.* 7.697. **Numae coniunx consiliumque:** repetition from 262 rounds off the introductory passage on Egeria, while *consilium* ('counsellor': *OLD* 3a) looks back to 154 (*monente*), 261 (*mone*), and ahead to her advice at 289–94.

**277–84** Though Romulus is not mentioned directly, this passage returns to the contrast between him and Numa that has been established at 1.27–44, on Romulus' original ten-month calendar (*scilicet arma magis*

*quam sidera, Romule, noras*, 1.29), which Numa corrected by the addition of January and February (1.43–4). The correction of the calendar has been revisited at 99–154; now O. expands on Numa's reforms more generally, exploiting the negative picture of Romulus established in the contrast between him and Augustus at 2.133–44. Livy begins his account of Numa's reign in similar terms (1.19.1–2): *urbem nouam conditam ui et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. quibus cum inter bella adsuescere uideret non posse (quippe efferari militia animos), mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit*; cf. also Dion. Hal. 2.62.5. **principio nimium**

**promptos ad bella Quirites**: the hexameter brings out the over-eagerness for fighting of the first Romans; *Quirites*, evocative of *Quirinus* (2.475–512), both associates them with Romulus and suits the period after he has been deified, when they become proper citizens (cf. 349; Scheid 1985). When Julius Caesar addressed his troops as *Quirites* (Suet. *D.J.* 70.1), he was scorning their cowardice; O. inverts this to imply that citizens should not be taking up arms.

**molliri**: equivalent to Livy's *mitigandum*: after the epic loading of the Romulean hexameter, the pentameter begins with the significantly elegiac word for softening: cf. in particular *Trist.* 1.5.74 *adsuetus studiis mollibus ipse fui*, 2.307 *nec tamen est facinus uersus euoluere molles*, 349 *mollia carmina feci*; there are metapoetic instances also at *Am.* 1.12.22, 2.1.22, 2.2.66, *Ars* 3.334, *Prop.* 2.1.2, 2.34.42, 3.1.19, 3.3.18, *Hor. Carm.* 2.9.17, as well as many places where the connotation may be felt (e.g. 4.4).

**iure deumque metu**: law and religion are the forces used by Numa to civilize the primitive Romans (101–10): cf. *Cic. Rep.* 2.26, 5.3, *Virg. Aen.* 6.810–11 (Anchises foresees Numa) *primam qui legibus urbem | fundabit*.

**inde datae leges, ne firmior omnia posset**: Numa moves Rome away from the power-based regal system of Romulus – and Nemi (cf. 271). Similar too to the primitive Roman are the locals in Tomi: cf. *Tristia* 5.7.47 *non metuunt leges, sed cedit uiribus aequum*.

**coeptaque sunt pure tradita sacra coli**: though Numa innovated in religion (as the following narrative will show), he also took care to observe properly the *sacra* handed down by Romulus (and his predecessors, such as Evander and Aeneas): this is asserted clearly by Dionysius (2.63.2). For the stress on *pure* in a ritual context, cf. 2.329–30 *sacra parabant, | quae facerent pure*, 5.444 *pure sacra peracta*, as well as the emphasis Numa gives to his *manibus puris* at 335. In these respects he is like Augustus as *princeps*: observation of the similarities may have been aided by the depiction of Numa in contemporary art (363 n.). Other analogies may be found in verses 282–3, however.

**exuitur feritas**: the civilization of Rome was dated to the Second Punic War, and the coming of poetry, in a fragment (*FLP* 1) of Porcius Licinius, a poet from the late second/early first century BC: *Poenico bello secundo Musa ... / intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem*

<et> *feram* (*ferum* appears in Horace's imitation, *Ep.* 2.1.156–7, discussed on 101–2). In 4.97–114 O. will attribute the abandonment of *feritas* to Venus.

**aequum (e)st:** for prodelision at the end of the hexameter, cf. 377, 495, 833.

**cum ciue pudet conseruisse manus:** though the reign of Romulus has involved conflict between fathers- and sons-in-law (201–28), *cum ciue* makes the phrasing here more evocative of the civil wars that brought the end of the Republic, including those fought by the future Augustus between 43 and 30 BC.

**aliquis modo trux uisa iam uertitur ara:** the account of Numa's civilizing of Rome takes a briefly comic turn. *trux* ('aggressive', 'pugnacious') symbolizes militant fierceness (cf. *Trist.* 5.7.17 *uox fera, trux uultus, uerissima Martis imago*, *Ars* 3.502 *candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras*); but the sight of an altar is enough to transform such a man. *uertitur* plays on the rotation characteristically performed by the Romans before worshipping a god (Lucretius 5.1199, Livy 5.21.16, Pliny, *Nat.* 28.25), introduced by Numa according to Plutarch (*Numa* 14.3–4). *aliquis* encourages the reader to think of individuals, and thus to continue the allegorical reading suggested for the preceding couplets.

**uinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis:** offerings of wine and salted spelt (an ancient grain) stand by synecdoche for a life in which religion is important (cf. Horace, *Carm.* 3.23).

**285–8 ecce deum genitor:** for the marked change of focus, cf. 35 n. Jupiter ignores the peaceful nature of the new regime, and sends repeated thunderstorms, a frequent occurrence in Rome, sometimes leading to the foundation of new temples to expiate the prodigy of lightning strikes (e.g. Apollo Palatinus: Hekster & Rich 2006), and sometimes responsible for the burning of temples, e.g. Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*DAR* 158), and the Temples of Ceres and of Luna on the Aventine in 84 BC (Appian, *Bell. Ciu.* 1.78). Though Numa tries to mitigate the threat, thunderclaps announce key moments in what follows: 347, 369; and cf. 330. Numa's fight against war thus becomes a conflict with thunder, which the Augustan poets had turned into a symbol of epic, in imitation of Callimachus, *Aet. fr.* 1.20 βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ Διός ('it is not my duty to thunder, but Zeus's'): cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.560–1 *Caesar dum magnus ad altum | fulminat Euphraten bello* (set in antithesis to the peaceful poet), Prop. 2.1.39–40 *neque ... intonat angusto pectore Callimachus*, 4.1.134; *Am.* 2.1.11–20 (where O.'s *puella* bolts her door and makes him drop Jupiter and his bolt).

**effusis aethera siccat aquis** 'dries up the heavens by pouring off rain'. *siccare* is not elsewhere found with *aethera* or equivalent objects, though it can be used of what is normally damp or wet (e.g. *Met.* 13.690 *siccatos fontes*, the adynaton at Prop. 2.32.49 *fluctus poteris siccare marinos*), and Cato uses the verb intransitively of dry weather after rain (*Agr.* 112.2 *ubi pluerit et siccauerit*). O. may here figure Jupiter as a landowner draining



his property (cf. *OLD* 3b, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 5.3.7 *paludes siccare*). **non alias missi cecidere frequentius ignes**: an allusion to Virg. *Geo.* 1.487–8 *non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno | fulgura*, on the portents that marked the death of Julius Caesar and led to the battle of Philippi. The implication may be that Numa was faced with a similarly turbulent situation after the death of Romulus: see e.g. 2.497–8 and Livy 1.16.4 on the recriminations after his disappearance, during a thunderstorm (2.493–6; Livy 1.16.1); but Numa's policy is entirely to avoid further conflict. Alternatively, he (and his people) may fear that as king he is the one threatened by the ominous weather: hence **rex pauet et uulgi pectora terror habet** in the pentameter. The hexameter-endings in 285–9 (*flammas, ignes, fulmen*) evoke the repeated lightning.

**289–94 cui dea, ne nimium terrere**: Egeria's speech begins like an epiphany: cf. Janus at 1.101 *disce metu posito*, Mercury to Paris at *Ep.* 16.68 *pone metum*, Bacchus to Ariadne at *Ars* 1.556. But in fact *terrere* picks up from *pauet* and *terror* in the previous verse. It is the frequency of thunder that scares the king: he is used to talking to Egeria. For *ne* + imperative cf. 641 n. The break in sense at 4w is very rare: Platnauer 1951: 26. **piabile fulmen | est**: context suggests that this means 'the thunderbolt can be averted', but rites were also held to 'cleanse' places struck by lightning, another possible sense of *piare*, similarly in 291, 311, 333, and 343 (*procuras*). **flectitur ira Iouis** 'can be deflected [or mollified]', as at *Met.* 1.378 *si flectitur ira deorum*, equivalent to the common *flecti posse*. The implication of possibility is found in other passive verbs, e.g. in Prop. 4.5.64 *per tenuem ossa cutem sunt numerata mea*, Cic. *Cael.* 65 *mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non inuenitur*, ...; here the reader is guided by *piabile est*. **nam**: a conjecture for the transmitted *sed*: there is no antithesis between 289–90 and this couplet (which explains how Numa can find a way to appease Jupiter); occasionally in the course of transmission one initial monosyllable is replaced by another ('Kenney's Law': cf. e.g. 310 *si*] *nam* GQM: *quod* O). An alternative solution would be to suppose a couplet has been lost between 290 and 291. **Picus Faunusque ... Romani numen uterque soli**: Faunus and Picus are local deities, down-to-earth, and thus accessible to Numa. Picus appears at *Met.* 14.320–415 and Virg. *Aen.* 7.189–91 as an Italian king who is changed into a woodpecker (*picus*) by Circe; at *Aen.* 7.48–9 he is the son of Saturn and father of Faunus. Faunus (84, 313 nn.) was an oracular deity (4.649–72, *Aen.* 7.81–106). The story of their assistance in approaching Jupiter appeared already in Valerius Antias, *FRHist* 25F8 (as reported by Arnobius, *Nat.* 5.1); Plutarch has a similar account at *Numa* 15.3–6. *uterque* is in apposition to the names, and *numen* in apposition to the pronoun ('each a divinity'). **nec sine ui tradent** 'but they will not

pass it on without the use of force': Jupiter's display of power forces the reluctant Numa to use force too; cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.398 *nam sine ui non ulla dabit praecepta. tradent* picks up from *tradere* in 292: the same object (*ritum piandi*) is thus easily supplied. **adhibe tu uincula captis** 'put fetters on them once they have been captured', i.e. 'capture and bind them'. The scene recalls the forced revelations provided by Proteus to Menelaus (*Od.* 4.383–572) and Aristaeus (1.363–80; Virg. *Geo.* 4.387–529), by Silenus to the shepherd boys Chromis and Mnasylos (Virg. *Ecl.* 6.13–86); in each case a water-nymph assists, as here: Eidothea at *Odyssey* 4.363–446, Cyrene in *Georgics* 4 and *Fasti* 1, Aegle at *Ecl.* 6.20–2. There are also stories about Silenus' being captured and bound by Midas or his people (*Met.* 11.90–3; Herodotus 8.138.3, Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.13, Theopompus, *FGH* 115F75a) and passing on wisdom (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.114, DServ. *Ecl.* 6.13, Theopompus, *FGH* 115F75c). The phrasing reworks Cyrene's instruction to her son Aristaeus at *Geo.* 4.396 *hic tibi, nate, prius uinclis capiendus*, 399–400 *uim duram et uincula capto | tende. atque ita ... erudit* 'and she goes on to teach': cf. 671 n. For the enclosure of *erudit* within the indirect question it governs, cf. 183, 311, 795 n., and Proteus' question at 1.376 *qua ... repares arte requiris apes*.

**295–8 lucus ... suberat**: the action is set in another *locus amoenus* (cf. 17–18, 263–74), with the common components of shade, somewhere soft to lie, and running water. *suberat* implies that the grove is hidden away at the bottom of the hill. The phrasing imitates Livy's description of the *fons Camenarum* (1.21.3) with a series of echoes and synonyms: *lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua*. **Auentino**: from the imitation of Livy one might infer that the spring is the *fons Camenarum*, in the *uallis Egeriae*, just outside the *porta Capena* according to Juvenal 3.11–17; however, because the Regionary Catalogues place it in *Reg. I* (Porta Capena) it is thought to have been on the Caelian side of the valley, where the gate was, rather than the Aventine. Plutarch, *Numa* 15.3 associates Picus and Faunus with the Aventine, but in general terms, not referring to a specific spring ('the story goes that the Aventine hill was not yet part of the city nor inhabited, but had an abundance of springs and shady glades on it, and that Picus and Faunus used to spend time there'). The Aventine was certainly known for its water, as the home of the Bona Dea (Faunus' wife or daughter) and site of the *piscina publica* (so Chioffi in *LTUR* 'Fons Fauni et Pici'); it may be that Ovid has the fountain of the Bona Dea in mind (see Morgan 2014: 856–7 for discussion and further bibliography; Stara-Tedde 1905: 194–5 suggested O. identifies the *lucus Egeriae* with this). The shrine was below the cliff where Remus stood to observe for birds (5.148–54, 4.816), directly across the valley from the *fons Camenarum*, and its secluded spring plays a central role in Propertius

4.9 (23–70). Whoever determined the topography presumably wished to place the whole story on the hill where the altar of Elician Jove stood (329–30 n.). **niger ilicis umbra** ‘dark with the shade of ilex’ (a kind of oak); similar are 2.165 *densa niger ilice lucus*, *Ep.* 12.67 *est nemus et piceis et frondibus ilicis atrum* (of the grove where Medea recalls meeting Jason), and Virg. *Geo.* 3.333–4 *sicubi nigrum | ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra* (where shepherds should avoid the midday heat). The line as a whole alludes to Tib. 2.5.27 *lacte madens illic suberat Pan ilicis umbræ*, in a context that describes the rustic delights of primitive Rome; Pan’s equivalent here will be ‘drenched’ with something stronger than milk. The *ilex* may point to an original Jupiter *Ilicius* on the Aventine (349 n.): so Porte 1988: 362. **numen inest**: O. himself has encounters with the divine in such locations: cf. 6.9–13, and especially *Am.* 3.1.1–2 *Stat uetus et multos incaedua silua per annos; | credibile est illi numen inesse loco*; similar is the *lucus* at *Am.* 3.13.7–8 *concedes numen inesse loco*. **muscoque adoperta uirenti | manabat saxo**: the spring emerges from a rock and then flows beneath a soft bed of green moss. The phrasing evokes the *lapis Manalis* (see 323–48 n.). **perennis aquae**: an echo of Livy 1.21.3 (cited above) and a foreshadowing of Anna Perenna at 653–4.

**299–302 inde ... bibebant. | huc uenit**: the topographical ecphrasis has (as often) a double culmination: what happens habitually in the space, and what happens there on the occasion on which the narrative focuses. *inde bibebant* reprises 274 *inde bibi*, and thus forms another link with Egeria at Nemi. **fere soli** ‘generally alone’: a contrast with the divine partying described at 1.395–438, 4.423–4, 6.321–44, as well as the collective drinking and feasting typical of the Olympians (e.g. *Iliad* 1.423–4, 595–604). Faunus and Picus are presented as a pair of colleagues who head off to drink in the secluded corner of a quiet bar. **fonti ... mactat ouem**: cf. 4.652 *hic geminas rex Numa mactat oues*, where Numa sacrifices one sheep to Faunus and one to Sleep, before ‘incubating’, i.e. sleeping in the grove of Faunus in the hope of receiving a revelatory dream. Aristaeus sacrifices a ewe to Orpheus at the end of his divine encounter (Virg. *Geo.* 4.546, 553); the scrupulous Numa before he begins his. **plenaque odorati ... pocula Bacchi**: the god’s name is used as a metonym for wine, which has been described as *bene odoratum* already in Cato (*Agr.* 109); but O. alludes particularly to Virg. *Geo.* 4.279 *odorato ... Baccho* (immediately before the Aristaeus episode). **dis ponit pocula**: for *pocula ponere* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.706 (wine is served at Dido’s feast). The dative of a god after *ponere* usually refers to the recipient of a religious act, as at 5.669 *templa tibi posuere*, 6.394 *Pistori ponitur ara Ioui*, Prop. 2.14.27, 2.19.18; the pious Numa thus makes his trap into an offering. Most editors print *disponit*, which can be supported by the ‘arrangement’ of the cups at the approaches to the

spring in *FRHist* 25F8. **cumque suis:** in the model narratives (293 n.) Menelaus takes three companions, Chromis and Mnasylos work as a pair, Aristaeus alone. In *FRHist* 25F8 (Valerius Antias) Numa is accompanied by twelve youths, identifiable as the Salii (387–8).

**303–8** Though the deities come to their usual fountain, the provision of full glasses of sweet-scented wine seduces them away from their normal drink, and naturally they fall into deep sleep. **releuant multo pectora sicca mero:** for the chest as what is affected by drinking, cf. 1.301 *uinum sublimia pectora fregit*, *Met.* 12.220 *uino pectus ... ardet*, Petronius, *Sat.* 5.12 *Maeoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem*. **uinclaue sopitas addit in arta manus** ‘and puts the hands of the sleepers in tight fetters’, an Ovidian idiom: cf. *Am.* 1.7.1 *Addo manus in uincla meas*. For *sopitus* applied to the limbs of a sleeping body, cf. *Ep.* 14.69 *sopitaque brachia iactas*. **uina ... uincla ... uincula:** Numa’s starting point is wine ritually offered, and the bonds do their job without his having to fight; thus he uses the letters *ui*, as Egeria has instructed (*nec sine ui*, 293), but not force: contrast the direct play between *uim* and *uincula* at Virg. *Geo.* 4.399–400 *uim duram et uincula capto | tende*. For the variation in form of *uinc(u)la*, see Hopkinson 1982: 175. **pugnando uincula temptant | rumpere; pugnantes fortius illa tenent:** the initial repetition sets up the reciprocity of action and reaction, the object *uincula* turns into the subject *illa*, and *temptant* becomes *tenent*.

**309–12 di nemorum:** after *Picus Faunusque* (291) and *Faunus Picusque* (299), O. has with *siluestria numina* (303) moved away from the names before the gods begin speaking individually (312, 319–20), and here he uses yet another expression to refer to the pair. **ignoscite ... si scelus ingenio scitis abesse meo:** requests made to the gods often come with conditional assertions of past worship or piety (335–6 n.; *Iliad* 1.39–41, Virg. *Aen.* 2.689–91 *si pietate meremur*, 5.687–92, 9.406–9; 12.777–9, Turnus to Faunus); as Austin notes on *Aen.* 6.530 *pio si poenas ore reposco*, ‘*si* implies protestation, not doubt (= “as sure as”)’. In asking gods for forgiveness because of the known innocence of his character, Numa is figured as the Ovid of exile. Forgiveness is a theme at e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.71 *ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum*; *Pont.* 1.9.23–4 (O. remembers a friend preventing his suicide) *placabilis ira deorum est: | uiue nec ignosci tu tibi posse nega*; the poet’s lack of wickedness and fundamental innocence at *Trist.* 1.3.37–9 *pro culpa ne scelus esse putet*, 4.1.23–4 *scit quoque ... culpam in facto, non scelus, esse meo*, often in later poems (e.g. *Pont.* 1.7.40 *facinus nemo nescit abesse mihi*); and both appear together at *Trist.* 1.2.98–105 *a culpa facinus scitis abesse mea. | ... si me merus abstulit error, | stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata fuit, | ... parcite, diui* and 3.6.23–5 *fiat mansuetior ira ... si nullum scelus est in pectore nostro*. On the other hand, it is *ingenium* that

has brought about his punishment: *Trist.* 3.3.74 *ingenio perii Naso poeta meo*. **sic ... sic:** 171 n. **quatiens cornua:** like Pan, Faunus (*semicaper* at 4.752, 5.101) is represented as having some features of a goat, in particular horns (2.268 *bicornis*, *Ep.* 5.137 *cornigerumque caput*) and hooves (2.361 *cornipedi*). Though in the end the gods prove helpful, this initial gesture seems to indicate anger: Seneca, *Med.* 853–6 *uultus citatus ira | riget et caput feroci | quatiens superba motu | regi minatur ultro*; Apuleius, *Met.* 6.9.1 (Venus responding to the sight of Psyche) *latissimum cachinnum extollit et qualem solent furenter irati, caputque quatiens ...* (contrast 6.400, where the shaking symbolizes old age).

**313–18 magna petis:** Littlewood 2002: 185 finds an echo of Proteus' response to Aristaeus at Virg. *Geo.* 4.453–4 *non te nullius exercent numinis irae*; | *magna luis commissa*; this would fit the hint of anger in 312 (cf. *Geo.* 4.452 *grauiter frendens*). But the phrase precisely repeats two speakers in the *Metamorphoses*: a strong sense of threat comes from the echo of Sol to Phaethon at 2.54; but Numa's boldness will prove to be more like Aeneas' wish to enter the underworld, to which the Sibyl responds at 14.108; and Faunus and Picus will work with Numa to reduce the scale of the sublime *magna*. **nec quae monitu** (167 n.) **tibi discere nostro | fas sit:** a correction of the version mentioned at Plutarch, *Numa* 15.4 that Picus and Faunus were the direct source of the charm. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7.36 derives Faunus' name from *fari* ('to speak'), but limits on what prophets may say or know is a persistent theme in oracular narratives. In Apollonius, *Argonautica* Phineus is punished by Zeus for revealing too much (2.178–86), and at 2.311–12 he announces to the Argonauts, 'It is not permitted for you to learn everything precisely'; Virgil's Helenus follows this at *Aen.* 3.379–80: *prohibent nam cetera Parcae | scire Helenum farique uetat Saturnia Iuno*. In *fas* there is a play on the name of the poem, literally a calendrical list of the days on which one may 'speak', i.e. legal action is allowed: 1.48 *fastus erit per quem lege licebit agi* (n.b. 47–62), Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.29 *dies fasti, per quos praetoribus omnia uerba sine piaculo licet fari* (with similar formulations in 6.30, 53). O. brings out the link with what is allowed already at 1.25 *si licet et fas est*, and the theme is reprised at 1.289 *quod tamen ex ipsis licuit mihi discere fastis*; for general discussion see Feeney 1992. This becomes more loaded when O.'s own rights are limited by relegation, imposed because of what he wrote (the *Ars*), and what he saw and thus knew (*Trist.* 2.103–6, 3.5.49–50), but did not report either before exile (*Trist.* 3.5.47, 3.6.11–14) or after (*Trist.* 2.208–10): cf. 167, 325–6 nn., *Trist.* 2.515 *scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos*, | *materiae minor est debita poena meae*. Particularly relevant to what follows for Numa is *Trist.* 5.2.45–6 *alloquor en absens absentia numina supplex*, | *si fas est homini cum Ioue posse loqui*. **habent fines numina nostra suos:** the notion that deities have

powers that are geographically limited is explored by Virgil in Neptune's speech to the winds at *Aen.* 1.132-41, and relates to the *imperium* given to Roman magistrates, who have the authority to act only within stipulated boundaries. On divine 'spheres of influence' in general, see McKeown on *Am.* 1.1.5-20. **arbitrium est in sua regna Ioui:** in contrast to the countryside deities Faunus and Picus ('the sort that have power in the lofty mountains'), Jupiter's control is over his own kingdom, which includes the heavens, and the activities that belong there (*OLD regnum* 6b, c). Rather than *regna* (Milan Ambros. N 265 sup.) editors print either *tecta* (AU+) or *tela* (G+); but the latter noun does not make the contrast with *in altis montibus* that *sua* looks for, and Jupiter's control over his own 'palace' is hardly relevant when Numa seeks to stop the excessive casting of thunderbolts. **deducere:** 321 n. **at poteris nostra forsitan usus ope:** Faunus adopts the role of a courtier who is willing to provide access to the monarch (the pair have already been bribed with alcohol and are currently being held against their will): this may well reflect the problems of gaining access to great men in Rome, as expressed e.g. at Hor. *Serm.* 1.9.56 (Maecenas) *difficilis aditus primos habet*, Martial 9.79.1-2 *oderat anteducum famulos turbamque priorem | et Palatinum Roma supercilium*, Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.74.4. O. implies the importance of the control of access in Janus' description of himself at 1.173-4 *ut possis aditum per me, qui limina seruo, | ad quoscumque uoles ... habere deos*. **forsitan** is used by O. with indicative (e.g. 2.97, *Am.* 1.6.45) as well as subjunctive.

**319-22 dixerat haec Faunus. par est sententia Pici:** for such avoidance of repetition in reporting speeches cf. *Met.* 6.215-16 *desine, Phoebus ait, poenae mora longa querela est; | dixit idem Phoebe. A sententia* is an opinion expressed in a deliberative situation – the drinking den becomes a council chamber. **deme tamen nobis uincula Picus ait:** it is unclear whether *tamen* belongs within the direct speech ('But take off our fetters: Jupiter will come') or with *Picus ait* ('but Picus said'), but it hardly matters: in either case the dialogue moves on to the next, more positive stage, and the imperative (as often) functions as equivalent to a conditional clause. **ualida deductus ab arte:** see 151 n. for the use of *deducere* in a context where it has generic connotations: the poem (a form of *ars*: cf. 323-4) will bring Jupiter down to earth, despite his persistent thundering, and put him into a joky piece of dialogue (339-42). For the instrumental *ab arte* see McKeown on *Am.* 2.4.30. **nubila promissi Styx mihi testis erit:** from the *Iliad* on (2.755, 15.37-8) the Styx is used as an absolute guarantor of divine oaths: so for example Sol to Phaethon at *Met.* 2.45-6 *promissi testis adesto | dis iuranda palus, oculis incognita nostris*, confirmed at 2.101 *Stygias iurauimus undas*; also 5.250, *Met.* 1.737, 3.289-91. *nubilus* ('gloomy', lit. 'cloudy') is used by O. to describe the descent below

at *Met.* 4.432 *est uia decliuīs funesta nubila taxo*; cf. *nubila tenebris loca* of the underworld in a tragic verse cited at *Cic. Tusc. Disp.* 1.48 (cf. Jocelyn 1967: 255–6).

### 323–48 Jupiter Elicius

There was an altar of Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine (cf. 295): Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.94 *Elicii Iouis ara in Auentino, ab eliciendo*; Livy 1.20.7 *ad ea elicienda* [i.e. the *prodigia* signified by *fulmina*] *ex mentibus diuinis Ioui Elicio aram in Auentino dicauit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent*. For Latin authors, though the derivation of the name is settled (but see 349 n.), its meaning is not: is Jupiter himself ‘elicited’ from heaven, as here (327–8), or is he approached in order to ‘elicit’ thunder (as Livy’s text implies; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 12.200 *apud maiores arae non incendebantur, sed ignem diuinum precibus eliciebant, qui incendebat altaria*)? (Some scholars have thought rain a more obvious need, and therefore tried to establish a direct connexion with the drought-time ritual of *aquaelicium*, in which the *lapis Manalis*, kept in the temple of Mars south of the Porta Capena, was hauled into the city, as at *Festus* 2.24–6, 115.8–12 Lindsay; but *Porte* 1988 refutes this.) The uncertainty is compounded by a paragraph of Pliny on the topic (*Nat.* 2.140), which begins *exstat annalium memoria sacris quibusdam et precationibus uel cogi fulmina uel impetrari*. Pliny uses *uel ... uel* to mark genuine alternatives rather than for verbal precision (e.g. 19.154 *uel aestate uel hieme*; 20.220 *uel cocto uel crudo*; 22.143 *panis uel maturis uel maturescentibus*; 24.72 *uel in potu uel in cibo*), so *cogi*, set against *impetrari* (‘be brought about’), seems to have the unusual meaning ‘be restricted’ (cf. *OLD* 8d) rather than ‘be compelled [to fall]’. Pliny goes on to report *a Numa saepius hoc factitatum in primo annalium suorum tradidit L. Piso, grauis auctor, quod imitatum parum rite Tullum Hostilium ictum fulmine*; Livy 1.31.8 similarly tells how Tullus, the next king, was killed by a thunderbolt when sacrificing to Jupiter Elicius during a plague. The rite is necessarily a difficult one, and even Numa’s efforts produce more thunder (347, 368–9), rather than less (285–90).

**323–8 emissi laqueis quid agant, quae carmina dicant:** O. elegantly summarizes the next part of the story, and builds up suspense about possible answers to the questions. But in the end, in 325, he denies that it would be right for him, or any other man, to have knowledge of the ritual. **trahant ... Iouem:** so Valerius Antias, *FRHist* 25F8 and Plutarch, *Numa* 15.5 ‘some say that the spirits did not supply the charm, but that they used magic to draw Zeus down’ (cf. 339–42 nn.). **scire nefas homini. nobis concessa canentur | quaeque pio dici uatis ab ore licet:** in 313–14 Faunus has introduced the notion that there are limits to what Numa may learn, as a man, and to what he and Picus may say, as lesser deities. Now

O. re-applies the lesson to his own role as narrator (cf. *Ap. Arg.* 1.921, 4.248–50; *Call. Aet. fr.* 75.4–7). As the conveyer of religious information he is like Faunus; in laying claim to a ‘pious mouth’ he is like the Numa of 336 (cf. 259–392 n.). Allusion establishes a connexion with his exile for supposedly exceeding the bounds of permissible speech: cf. *Trist.* 2.249–50 *nil nisi legitimum concessaque furta canemus*, | *inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit* (identical to *Ars* 1.33–4 save that begins *nos uenerem tutam*); the diction is revisited in his oath to Cupid at *Pont.* 3.3.69–70 *nil nisi concessum nos te didicisse magistro* | *Artibus et nullum crimen inesse tuis*. Moreover, he asserts his own *pietas* towards Augustus in his defence of his past behaviour at *Trist.* 1.2.104 *proque* | *Caesare tura pius Caesaribusque dedi* (in a context recalled at 309–10), 2.59. **eliciunt ... unde minores** | **nunc quoque ... Eliciumque uocant**: cf. 117–18 for the explicit announcement of etymology; for an alternative, from *Ilicius*, see 295, 349 nn. *elicere* frequently has connotations of magic: Wiseman 2008: 155–9. *minores* means ‘descendants’, ‘posterity’ (*OLD* 3c). *nunc quoque* regularly marks aetiological commentary in both *Fasti* (1.113, 388; 2.20, 301, 671; 4.494, 504, 710, 806; 5.128, 428; 6.106, 307, 533) and *Met.* (1.235, and many further instances: Myers 1994: 66–7).

**329–32 constat** ‘it is settled’, i.e. beyond dispute (6.571; *Trist.* 3.9.6); the verb is in ironic conflict with the stress on instability in the rest of the couplet (*tremuisse, subsedit*). **Auentinae tremuisse cacumina siluae**: the tops of the trees shiver at the arrival of a god (cf. 2.439, 501) as in advance of a coming storm. **terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iouis**: divinity is traditionally heavy: 23, 42, *Met.* 4.449, 9.268–73, 287–9, 15.693–4; *Rem.* 688 plays on the notion; Kovacs 1998 adds other examples. Morgan 2014 points out the topographical aetiology: the weight of the weightiest god creates the depression in the middle of the Aventine, which runs north east to south west from just north of the shrine of Bona Dea (295 n.) and divides the northern part of the hill from the ‘Little Aventine’; cf. also 1.568. **micant ... fugit ... deriguere**: two verbs of motion (of different kinds) followed by one expressing fixedness mirror the sequence in 329–30. **totoque e corpore sanguis** | **fugit**: the hyperbole expresses how pale Numa turns in his fright (cf. *Met.* 14.754–5 *calidusque e corpore sanguis* | *inducto pallore fugit*, 3.39–40, *Ars* 1.540). Strictly it is only the surface of the body that loses blood, and therefore colour, in moments of fear, as the blood supply is directed to the core organs. **hirsutae deriguere comae**: cf. the poet’s encounter with Janus at 1.97 *sensique metu riguisse capillos*. *hirsutae* characterizes Numa as primitive, unconcerned about his personal appearance: so too the populace in Romulus’ day at *Ars* 1.108, and *coloni* before the discovery of agriculture at *Am.* 3.10.7.

**333–6 ut rediit animus**: O. regularly uses compounds of *iit* with the second vowel long, e.g. 474; Platnauer 1951: 60–1. **piamina ...**



**fulminis:** 289 n. *piamina* is picked up by *pia* in 336 (cf. 487 n.), as Numa implies that because of his piety he deserves to be able to deal with the threat of thunderbolts. **si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris, | ... si pia lingua rogat:** for such conditionals in prayers see 310 n. The perfect *contigimus* shows that the first condition relates to the past; contrast the present *rogat* referring to the current request. *purus* is frequent in religious contexts (280 n.), referring to ritual chastity and cleanliness (Tib. 1.3.25–6), as well as due process or innocence; the range can be illustrated by the combination *manus purae* itself: 5.435 *manus puras fontana perluit unda*, Met. 9.702 *purasque ad sidera supplex* | *Cressa manus tollens*, Tib. 2.1.13–14 *casta placent superis: pura cum ueste uenite* | *et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam*, Prop. 2.32.28 *testis eris puras*, Phoebe, *manere manus*, Hor. *Epod.* 17.49 (ironically, of the witch Canidia), *Serm.* 1.4.67–8 *at bene siquis* | *et uiuat puris manibus*, on the safety of the innocent (cf. the Greek equivalent at Aesch. *Eum.* 313). On *donaria*, apparently equivalent to *altaria* here, see McKeown on *Am.* 2.13.13. **hoc quoque** can be analysed simply as providing the object of *rogat* and antecedent of *quod*, or as in apposition to the whole *si*-clause ('this too, if a pious tongue requests what is sought'); cf. *Ars* 3.763 *hoc quoque, qua patiens caput est*; and *id quoque* at *Trist.* 1.1.20, *Pont.* 3.3.40 (cited on 389), and the appositional *hoc tantum* in another prayer to Jupiter at Virg. *Aen.* 2.689–91 *Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis, | aspice nos, hoc tantum* ['look on us, just that'], *et si pietate meremur, | da deinde auxilium, pater* (and Austin *ad loc.*).

**337–42 sed uerum ambage remota | abdidit et dubio terruit ore uirum:** *ambage remota* is at first appropriately ambiguous: it could mean 'in distant evasion' or 'ambiguity having been removed' (cf. Dido encouraging Aeneas to give up his wandering at *Ep.* 7.149–50 *hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa, | accipe*) – until *abdidit* and the rest of the pentameter confirms the first sense. The expression thus matches what happens in the dialogue between Jupiter and Numa: the god announces a direct and frightening truth ('lop off a head', clarified with 'of a man'; then he demands 'a life'), requiring the man to interpret the words and make them ambiguous ('the head of an onion dug from my garden'; 'of a man – you will get the hair'; and finally he glosses 'life' with 'of a fish'). This sentence suggests that Jupiter's final approval (343) does not mark a change of mind, but the dialogue implies otherwise. **caede caput – caedenda est ... caepa – hominis – sumes ... capillos; postulat hic animam; cui Numa, piscis:** a similar version of this witty exchange appeared already in Valerius Antias, *FRHist* 25F8, cited disdainfully in reported speech by the Christian polemicist Arnobius (*Nat.* 5.1):

Iouem diu cunctatum ‘Expiabis’ dixit ‘capite fulgurita.’ regem respondisse, ‘Caepicio.’ Iouem rursus, ‘Humano.’ rettulisse regem, ‘Sed capillo.’ deum contra, ‘Animali.’ ‘<Maena [i.e. sprat]>’ subiecit Pompilium. tunc ambiguus Iouem propositionibus captum extulisse hanc uocem: ‘Decepisti me Numa; nam ego humanis capitibus procurari constitueram fulgurita, tu maena capillo caepicio: quoniam me tamen tua circumuenit astutia, quem uoluisti habeto morem et his rebus quas pactus es procuracionem semper suscipies fulguritorum.’

So too in Plutarch’s *Numa* (15.5): ‘The god angrily tells Numa that the expiation is to be performed with heads; and when Numa suggested “Of onions?,” he replied “Men’s.” Once again he tried to turn aside the horror of the instruction, and added “Hair?” And when Zeus answered “Living ...”, Numa supplied “Sprats”, as he had been advised to say by Egeria.’ Wiseman 1998: 21–4 with some plausibility suggests a dramatic origin for the scene. The story provides a comic explanation for the unusual cult offerings to Jupiter Elicius: onion ‘heads’, human hair, and live fish. Together these are magical substitutes for a human body and a human life. Labate 2010: 207–10 points out that Numa’s trickery over sacrifice owes something to Prometheus in Hesiod, *Theog.* 535–60, who persuades Zeus to choose the bones and fat while mankind gets the meat and offal. **hortis eruta caepa meis:** an onion is something head-like (Bömer compares the ‘heads’ of garlic the cheating Locrians carry on their shoulders at Polybius 12.6.4), and regularly ‘chopped’, and the noun *caepa* is conveniently close to *caput* (whence it is derived, according to Isidore 17.10.12 *caepa uocatur quia non aliud est nisi tantum caput*). The phrase characterizes Numa, the student of the proselytizing vegetarian Pythagoras in *Met.* 15, as an unassuming tender of his own garden; and *eruta* allies him once again with the poet of the *Fasti*: cf. 1.7 *sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis*, 4.11 *tempora cum causis, annalibus eruta priscis*. **animam ... piscis:** an anagrammatic play lies behind this, as *maena* (‘sprat’: 2.578) in Arnobius and *μαῖνισι* in Plutarch imply: the Latin word might be spelled *maina*, an anagram of *anima*: Porte 1985: 132. Comparable are the little fish (*pisciculi*) mentioned by Festus 276.1–3 Lindsay as sacrificed alive to Vulcan *pro animis humanis*.

**343–8 risit:** Numa’s persistent impudence at last overcomes Jupiter’s vindictive sternness, and he responds with a laugh, as Venus will to Ovid’s own cheek at 4.5 *scis, dea, ... de uulnere* (see 5–6 n.). More commonly gods laugh or smile when they spot human folly (Janus at 1.191, Cupid at *Am.* 2.18.15) or a chance to assert their power (Mercury at *Met.* 2.704, Juno at *Met.* 4.524). **his ... facito mea tela procures** ‘make sure in future you avert [or expiate] my weapons with these’. For the parataxis (lack of conjunction) after the (future) imperative *facito*, cf. e.g. 683, 4.226 *fac puer*

*esse uelis*, *Ep.* 13.69 *facito dicas*, 19.182 *facito spernas*, *Rem.* 613 *facito contagia uites*. Though the *o* of the prefix *pro-* is normally long, *O.* scans it short in *prōcurare* both here and at *Ars* 1.587; so too *Tib.* 1.5.13, but contrast *Virg. Aen.* 9.158 *prōcurate*, *Hor. Ep.* 1.5.21 *prōcurare*. **o uir colloquio non abigende deum**: Jupiter comments on Numa's repeated conversations with gods: in this passage Faunus and Picus, and Jupiter himself as well as Egeria; cf. *Aen.* 7.90–1 *fruitur ... deorum | colloquio*, of the priestly figure who incubates at the shrine of Faunus. Ovid's line sets *uir* against *deum*, and the joining prefix *con-* against the distancing *ab-*. But there has been no real attempt to drive Numa away, and the reader may think of another man who has not been kept from colloquy with gods despite their best efforts: Ovid (who figures his letters from Tomi as conversational, e.g. *Pont.* 2.4.1, 2.6.3–4) addresses *Tristia* 2 to Augustus, the *Fasti* themselves to Germanicus, and approaches each of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia with prayers in *Pont.* 2.8.23–70. **sed tibi ... imperii pignora certa dabo**: this couplet may mark an innovation in the myth (Porte 1985: 134–9). No other extant author directly links the story of Jupiter Elicius and that of the *ancilia*; indeed in Livy (1.20) and in Plutarch (*Numa* 13, 15) the arrival of the shield precedes the account of Jupiter Elicius: it comes in a time of plague. However, Numa's twelve chaste assistants for his capture of Picus and Faunus, as reported in Valerius Antias, *FRHist* 25F8, imply a link with the *Salii*, and thus the *ancilia* (Wiseman 1998: 22). The phrase *pignus* (or *pignora*) *imperii* is used at 422 to refer to Augustus in the temple of Vesta, and elsewhere to the Palladium (Livy 5.52.7, Florus 1.1: see 422 n.), to Vesta or the Palladium (Livy 26.27.14, Sen. *Contr.* 1.3.1), and to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Tac. *Hist.* 3.72). As in *Aeneid* 1.279 *imperium sine fine dedi* (cf. 199, 241 *quem das finem ... laborum*) Jupiter grants *imperii pignora* that have not been requested (cf. *da certa piamina*, 333): 'Numa's reward for averting Jupiter's heavenly weapons is to get ... more heavenly weapons' (Hinds 1992: 120, n. 6). **Cynthus**: Apollo, as the sun. The name, used several times by Callimachus (Harder on *Aet.* fr. 67.5–6) and by Virgil in imitating the *Aetia* prologue at *Ecl.* 6.3, is derived from the 112-metre high mountain that occupies the centre of the small island of Delos, Apollo's birthplace. **ingenti tonitru super aethera motum | fertur** 'with a huge rumble of thunder he is carried up above the shaken sky'. After the inconsequential promise of continued *imperium* Jupiter comically ignores the point of Numa's appeal and thunders once again (285 n.) as he departs. The word order suggests that *ingenti tonitru* be taken as ablative of attendant circumstances (as in the translation); alternatively it could be instrumental ablative with *motum*.

**349–56 ille redit laetus**: *laetus* frequently describes the response to a divine encounter (*Met.* 11.106, Midas; 12.208, Caenis; *Virg. Aen.* 3.178, 8.617, Aeneas). Plutarch, *Numa* 15.6 ends his account with the etymology of a place called *Illicium* as a result of the god's 'happy' (ἡλεως) response to

Numa's wordplay; O. has used *risit* (343) to convey the divine response, and Numa receives an equivalent epithet. **memorat ... acta**: he reports to the people like a magistrate or legate reporting to the senate (Veturius at Livy 27.51.6; Cotta at Livy 37.52.2; and Aeneas reporting to his proto-senate at *Aen.* 3.59). For *acta* as equivalent to *res gestae* cf. e.g. 5.566, *Am.* 3.12.15 *Caesaris acta* (also *Trist.* 2.335), *Pont.* 3.3.32 *acta ducum*. **Quiritibus**: 277 n. **tarda ... difficilisque fides**: Littlewood 2002: 192 suggests that the emphasis given to *fides* here may reflect Numa's foundation of a temple to *Dius Fidius* (Livy 1.21.4). Stok 2004: 74 notes how much the Romans have changed since their irrationality was stressed at 119. Credibility remains a prominent issue until the arrival of the shield in 371: Ovid likes to acknowledge the incredibility of his fantastic stories, both in *Fasti* (370 n.; and e.g. 2.551 *uix equidem credo: bustis exisse feruntur*; 4.204 *pro magno teste uetustas | creditur*) and *Met.* (1.400 *quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste uetustas?* of stones turned to people; 8.611–15 Pirithous laughs at the credulity of his companions; 15.613 *quis credere possit?* of the horns of Cypus). **at certe credemur, ait, si uerba sequetur | exitus**: Numa's manipulation of public opinion is suggested by the historians: e.g. Livy 1.19.5 has him inventing meetings with Egeria to make the new *sacra* more acceptable to the Romans. Here the narrator has vouched for the truth of the divine encounters, but for the sceptical reader Numa skilfully makes belief in Jupiter's acceptance of an onion, human hair, and a sprat dependent on something he can control: the apparently magical arrival of a shield at dawn the following morning. The prediction that the symbol of *imperium* will come only when the sun has fully risen builds up suspense (*dubii* and *tarda*, 355), and encourages the assembled people to look in the direction of the rising sun. The enjambment of *exitus* neatly dramatizes the delay in the proof of Numa's words. The passive of *credere* is rare, but Ovidian, to express belief in a person's words (*OLD* 5a). **en audi**: *en* demands attention before an imperative of listening also at 471–2; the pattern is akin to *en aspice* at *Am.* 1.8.31, *Met.* 2.283 (and cf. *aspicite en* at *Met.* 13.264). **crastina** ('tomorrow's news') begins the elegant reworking of Jupiter's promise from first person (345–6) to third in 353–4. **promissaque tarda uidentur, | dependetque fides a ueniente die**: as 353–4 reprises Jupiter's words, so this echoes 350 *tarda uenit dictis difficilisque fides*, and thus brings the brief assembly to a fitting close.

**357–62** Six end-stopped lines set the scene with effective simplicity: the hexameters give three key events (dawn, the appearance of Numa, the start of sunrise), while the pentameters concentrate on the populace, arriving, standing in silence, anxious with suspense. **mollis erat tellus rorata mane pruina** 'the earth was soft with drops of morning dew'. Frost (even in the form of hoarfrost) does not soften the ground, but Ovid at

times stresses dampness as a feature of *pruina*, and thus implies the sense ‘dew’, as *rorata* (‘formed into dewdrops’) helps clarify here: cf. 5.215 *roscida cum primum foliis excussa pruina est*, 6.730 *e pratis uda pruina fugit*, *Met.* 4.82 *solque pruinosas radiis siccauerat herbas*. **limina regis:** O. elsewhere places Numa’s palace at the south eastern end of the forum, apparently identifying it with the Regia, the traditional home of the Pontifex Maximus, behind where the temple of Diuus Julius now stood, and either close to the shrine of Vesta (*Trist.* 3.1.29–30 *hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada seruat et ignem; | haec fuit antiqui regia parua Numae*, cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.41, Servius, *Aen.* 8.363), or on the same site (*Fasti* 6.263–4: *hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet Atria Vestae, | tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae*). After scenes set in the wildness of Nemi and the Aventine, we are now brought to the heart of the city (cf. Scheid 1985: 45). **medius** is placed in the middle of its line and brings out the placing of Numa between the two verses on his people (n.b. 358 *ante*, 360 *circa*). **solio medius consedit acerno:** the combined allusion to Latinus at *Aen.* 7.169 *solio medius consedit auito* and Evander at *Aen.* 8.178 *accipit Aenean solioque inuitat acerno* evokes the honourably primitive nature of Numa’s reign; cf. also Vertumnus’ description of his original statue at Prop. 4.2.59 *stipes acernus eram* (before Mamurius made a bronze replacement). **ortus erat summo tantummodo margine Phoebus:** the phrasing raises the level of excitement by announcing sunrise, only to qualify this by the ablative ‘with just his upmost rim’. **sollicitae mentes speque metuque pauent:** three words expressing anxiety outweigh the single monosyllable of hope.

**363–8 aque caput niueo uelatus amictu:** a sacrificing figure, apparently Numa (Rehak 2001), is represented with head so covered on a panel of the Ara Pacis. This follows the pattern Helenus commends to Aeneas at Virg. *Aen.* 3.405 *purpureo uelare comas adopertus amictu*, which seems designed to evoke the frequent image of Augustus appearing in this manner, familiar to us from later depictions, such as the Ara Pacis (again) and the Via Labicana statue. The oldest MS (A) is the only one that reads *aque*, but the evidence gathered by Platnauer (1951: 78–82) suggests that Ovid and his fellow elegists did not use unelided *atque* (as offered by the other MSS). For the use of *a(b)* with an instrumental ablative see 321 n.; for the further separation of *a* from the ablative phrase, cf. Heinsius’ conjecture (for *atque*) at *Trist.* 4.2.69 *aque procul Latio diuersum missus in orbem*. **iam bene dis notas ... manus:** in addition to the frequent offerings that demonstrate his piety (e.g. 335 *si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris*), we may think of his binding of Faunus and Picus, and of his intercourse with Egeria. **atque ita** ‘and having done this’, as commonly in O., including 671, and a number of instances like this where direct speech immediately follows: 4.611, 6.159; *Am.* 3.6.53; *Ars* 1.129;

*Met.* 1.377, 2.657, 4.476, 6.136, 8.426. **promissi ... pollicitam:** for play between the two synonyms, cf. *Ep.* 18.191–2, 21.139–40, *Ars* 1.443–4, and especially *Ars* 1.631–2 *nec timide promitte: trahunt promissa puellas; | pollicito testes quoslibet adde deos* (which rather implies that gods are not reliable guarantors of promises). On *pollicitus* used with passive sense, see McKeown on *Am.* 2.16.48. **dictis, Iuppiter, adde fidem:** the renewed address takes us back to the conversation with Jupiter at 333–46, and the echo of 350 *tarda ... dictis difficilisque fides* reminds Numa's audience of the promise that he has made to them in 351–4. **totum iam sol emouerat orbem** 'the sun had now moved its whole orb up [lit. 'away', i.e. from the horizon]'. The repetition of *totum orbem* from 345 and 353 helps confirm the promise. **grauis** 'deep' of sound (*OLD* 9), but with epic connotations (33 n.).

**369–74 ter tonuit ... tria fulgura:** with the *fragor* of 368, these provide three references to the three thunderclaps and three bolts of lightning. As well as the enormous temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, another smaller temple, dedicated to Jupiter Tonans by Augustus in 26 BC, stood on the top of the Capitol, at the opposite end of the Forum (*DAR* 160). Historically, these both postdate Numa, but already Virgil's Evander speaks of Jupiter raising storms on the summit of the Capitoline Hill (*Aen.* 8.352–4). **sine nube:** thunder from a clear sky is a frequent symbol of the marvellous (or impossible): cf. *Odyssey* 20.113–14, Varro, *Men.* 234 Cèbe *admirantes quod sereno lumine | tonuisset*, Lucr. 6.400–1 *denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro / Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profudit?*, Virg. *Geo.* 1.487–8 (287 n.), Horace, *Carm.* 1.34.1–12 (with Nisbet & Hubbard). The phrase recurs at Martial 9.24.4 *sic tonat ille deus, cum sine nube tonat*, in signifying the beneficent Jupiter, who provides propitious omens, as e.g. at Ennius, *Ann.* 527, Virg. *Aen.* 8.523–31, 9.630–1 *caeli genitor de parte serena / intonuit laeuum*. Something more wonderful is about to happen. **credite dicenti:** 350–1 n. **mira sed acta** (cf. 349) **loquor:** for *mirus* used to mark the incredible, cf. 4.267 *mira canam* (the earth quakes and Cybele speaks from her shrine); 4.326 *mira, sed et scaena testificata loquar* (Claudia Quinta's tug works to pull upstream the previously stuck ship); 6.612 *mira quidem, sed tamen acta loquar* (the statue of Servius Tullius moves and speaks, in horror at his daughter's approach). Wiseman 1998: 23 suggests that *acta* evokes a dramatic version of the scenes here and at 6.612: in the theatre a crack could really open up in the overhanging sky. Though O. reports the scene as real, the frequent references to disbelief (350 n.) should encourage scepticism in the reader and an awareness that Numa has created a scenario he can easily manipulate: he has encouraged the Romans to look directly at the rising sun (thus blinding them temporarily), and then with *tempus adest* gives

his assistants a cue for thunderous noise and the air-borne delivery of the *ancile*. The *Fasti* opens up the possibility of such manipulation of religion also at 5.461, where Remus complains not that he did not *see* enough augural birds, but that he did not *have* enough (*habuisse*). **caelum ... dehiscere coepit: | summisere oculos:** to the eyes of those who have been trying to watch sunrise, there might well seem to be a hole in the sky. For *summittere* in the unusual sense ‘raise’, cf. *OLD* 3, 4. **ecce leui scutum uersatum leniter aura | decidit:** though the shield comes freighted with the promise of future *imperium*, O. stresses lightness on its first appearance: it drifts down on a slight breeze revolving gently. The heavy thundering of Jupiter (330, 347, 368-9) is quickly left behind: the metapoetic point is underlined by the play between *lēuī* and *lēnīťēr*, and by the evocative *uersare* (cf. *Am.* 1.2.8, *Prop.* 2.1.45 *angusto uersamus proelia lecto*). The hexameter draws out the slow descent of the shield, before it falls to earth with *decidit* in the line below: cf. 413-14. **scutum:** strictly an oblong shield made of covered wooden boards (cf. 6.392 *scuta longa*), as opposed to the round metal *clipeus*; but the terms interchange. **a populo clamor ad astra uenit:** for this response to an incredible event, cf. 4.328 *index laetitiae fertur ad astra sonus*. Here the cheering inverts the journey of the thunder (368 *aetherio uenit ab axe fragor*), as Numa will invert the fall of the shield when he picks it up from the ground in the following line.

**375-8 caesa prius ... iuuenca:** Numa performs a sacrifice before every serious action (300, 4.652). In this respect his behaviour is even more marked than that of Aeneas and Anchises: sacrifice at *Aen.* 3.19-21, 118-20, 278-9, 543-7; 5.96-9, 774-6, but not at 1.208-15, 3.84, 4.571-83, e.g. **quae dederat nulli colla premenda iugo** ‘that had given its neck [poetic plural: 4 n.] to be pressed by no yoke’, i.e. a heifer of ritual purity: cf. e.g. 1.83 *colla rudes operum praebent ferienda iuueni*, *Iliad* 10.292-3 = *Odyssey* 3.382-3, *Virg. Geo.* 3.160, 4.540 = 551 *intacta totidem ceruice iuuenas*. The translation treats the dative *nulli iugo* as instrumental, but it may alternatively be construed as indirect object after *dederat*. O. uses such phrasing frequently: other instances too seem genuinely ambiguous (e.g. 803 *uiscera qui tauri flammis adolenda dedisset*), but in some cases the instrumental force is clearly to be preferred (e.g. 4.696 *matris plumis oua fouenda dabat*), and in some the dative sense (462 *dediit ingrato fila legenda uiro*, *Ep.* 18.164 *iam dominae uobis colla tenenda dabo*). **idque ancile uocat:** the name (which O. goes on to explain) is generally reserved for the shields carried by the Salii. Thus Servius, in commenting on the *ancile* carried by a statue of Picus at *Aen.* 7.188, provides a version of the story told here: *regnante Numa caelo huius modi scutum lapsum est, et data responsa sunt, illic fore summam imperii, ubi illud esset. quod ne aliquando hostis agnosceret, per Mamurium fabrum multa similia fecerunt*. In a famous *mise-en-abyme* Virgil

has Vulcan represent the *lapsa ancilia caelo* on the shield he makes for Aeneas at *Aen.* 8.664; some recent scholarship has tried to make something of the relationship between the *ancile* and Aeneas' celestial shield (Gee 2000: 41–7; Littlewood 2002), but the connexions are on a high level of generality (381 n.), and O. has made no apparent effort to supply verbal links. **quod ab omni parte recisum est | quaque notes oculis**

**angulus omnis abest:** there are depictions of the Salii carrying figure-of-eight shields (see e.g. Schäfer 1980: 364–5), as Varro's etymology implies (*Ling. Lat.* 7.43): *dicta ab ambecisu, quod ea arma ab utraque parte ut Thracum incisa* (similar is Festus 117.16–17 Lindsay). However, Ovid's phrasing here seems designed to contradict this: *ab omni parte* responds to *ab utraque parte* (a point re-emphasized by *omnis* in 378), and together with the echo of *ambecisu* and *incisa* suggests *ancile* comes from the combination of *om(ni)* and *(re)cisum*; this is taken over by Isidore, *Etym.* 18.12.3 *quod sit ab omni parte ueluti ancisum ac rotundum*. Moreover, the pentameter implies a round shield, as depicted on a sculptural relief from Anagni (see Bailey on 295–398). Indeed *angulus abest* suggests an etymology through opposition (cf. Quintilian 1.6.34 on such notions as *lucus ... quia parum luceat*; O'Hara 1996: 43, 66; and see on *caelata*, 381): the *ancile* is so-called because it lacks an *angulus*, because it is *not* ἄγκυλος ('crooked'), a derivation mentioned by Plutarch, *Numa* 13.5, who says of the shape 'it is not a circle (κύκλος)', before giving a series of further Greek origins inspired by the speculations of his predecessor Juba. The second half of the line is repeated at 6.272 *quique premat partes angulus omnis abest* in the explanation of why Vesta's temple is round, like the earth. **quaque notes oculis** 'wherever you may examine it with your eyes': cf. e.g. 296 *quo posses uiso dicere* for the hypothetical subjunctive. The clause apparently implies that the lack of angle is limited to the front.

**379–82 memor** looks back to Jupiter's promise, and ahead to the importance of memory in the following lines, in the name of Mamurius and the reward he receives. **imperii sortem consistere in illo** 'that the destiny of empire depends on it', indirect statement after *memor*. **consilium**

**multae calliditatis init:** the cunning consists not only in making it difficult to identify the real *ancile*, but also because it becomes possible to disdain any enemy claim that they have stolen the original unless they have all twelve: all effectively become substitutes, and Rome's future power is thus secure. **plura iubet fieri simili caelata figura:** Jupiter has given the city a symbolic shield as *imperii pignus*; whereas Aeneas goes on to use his celestial shield in war, Numa treats the *ancile* as a work of art, deserving multiple imitation, and as an object for celebratory ritual (388). Once again he is assimilated to the imitative and religious poet of the *Fasti* (cf. 274). Plutarch, *Numa* 13.3 reports that the copies were so like the original that not even Numa could tell them apart: one may wonder whether they



have been cast in the same mould. **caelata** ‘embossed’ or ‘engraved’, but evoking the heavenly origin of the first *ancile* (and implying yet another etymology): such play between *caelum* and *caelo* is very frequent in the Augustan poets, e.g. 2.79 *caelatum stellis Delphina*; *Met.* 2.6–7 (and Michalopoulos 2001: 44–5), 13.110, 13.291–2 (Ulysses on Ajax’s inability to understand the imagery of the shield of Achilles) *neque enim clipei caelamina nouit*, | *Oceanum et terras cumque alto sidera caelo*; Virg. *Ecl.* 3.37 *caelatum diuini opus Alcimedontis*; Prop. 3.2.20. They follow the tradition of Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.18, which links *caelum* with *caelare* – but also *celare*, *contrario nomine*, as he puts it (cf. 377–8 n.). **error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat** ‘so that perplexity might pass before the eyes of anyone setting a trap’: a strikingly phrased line, perhaps intended to evoke the confusion created by the dancing when the Salii brought the shields into public view (387–8). *ante oculos* is commonly used to describe what is in plain sight and obvious (250, 483). For *error* affecting the eyes cf. *Met.* 3.431 *oculos idem qui decipit incitat error*. For *insidians* of a potential burglar, cf. Columella 7.12.3–4, and especially 8.13.2 (on geese as guards of property) *nam clangore prodit insidiantem, sicut etiam memoria tradidit in obsidione Capitoli*.

**383–6 Mamurius, morum fabraene exactior artis | difficile est, illud, dicere, clausit opus** ‘Mamurius – it is difficult to say whether he was more scrupulous in character or in craftsmanship – completed the work’. O. employs very dislocated word order from time to time, and this is an extreme example (Housman, *CP* 140; Platnauer 1951: 106). *clausit opus* is an odd expression for completing the work (see *TLL* s.v. *claudio* 1309.7–8: no real parallel follows); it looks ahead to the presence of the name of Mamurius at the end of the song of the Salii (390). Perhaps then both *difficile est ... dicere* and the convoluted order are intended to evoke the extreme difficulty of the song (though that mainly lay in the obscurity of the archaic diction). **Mamurius**: in this story a smith of consummate skill, as he is when celebrated for casting the bronze statue of the god Vertumnus at Propertius 4.2.61–4 (the end of the poem: cf. 390); unlike Ovid Propertius scans the second syllable long (*Māmurī* or *Māmūrī*). The name appeared in the *carmen Saliare*, where its interpretation was controversial (391 n.). But Mamurius had other identities too, and O. evokes these in the wider context (542 n.). The phrasing of 259–60 has encouraged the reader to link Mamurius with Mars, the god who was called Mamers by the Sabines according to Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.73, and in Oscan (Festus 116.2–3, 150.34–5 Lindsay); some modern scholars have equated the two (e.g. Versnel 1993: 297–304), but others are sceptical (Illuminati 1961: 49, 57; Fauth 1978: 151–2; Bettini 2015: 153). In any case for O. the craftsman has nothing in common with the war god, and this path is at most hinted at later, in the relationship between Anna Perenna and Mars

at 677–96. More interesting is the connexion between Anna, a figure of the new year and continuing time (523–696 n.), and Mamurius symbolizing the old year, as the timing of his festivals (1st and 14th March), and his surname Veturius suggest (391 n.; see Usener 1875: 209–13, Degraasi 1963: 422, Loicq 1964, Versnel 1993: 297). **morum fabraene exactior artis** ‘whether more scrupulous in character or craftsmanship’: for use of the genitive to define the area in which an adjective applies see G&L 374, Nisbet & Hubbard on *Odes* 1.22.1 *Integer uitae*. Like *an* in 211 *uiduae* ... *an orbae*, *ne* helps imply the *utrum* normally used to mark alternative indirect questions; Ursini compares *Met.* 6.678 *iustitia dubium ualidisne potentior armis*. The combination of character and art makes for a Mamurius who is implicitly contrasted with the Ovid condemned by Augustus: cf. e.g. *Trist.* 1.9.59–60 *uita tamen tibi nota mea est, scis artibus illis | auctoris mores abstinuisse sui*; 2.7–8 *carmina fecerunt ut me moresque notaret | iam pridem emissa Caesar ab Arte mea*; 2.353 *distant mores a carmine nostri*. As the quotations show, O. repeatedly claims that his behaviour (at least) had been beyond reproach; as an *eques* he had passed uncensured under the gaze of the *princeps*: *Trist.* 2.89–90 *at, memini, uitamque meam moresque probabas | illo quem dederas praetereuntis equo*. **si mea nota fides**: the preceding narrative has confirmed Numa’s *fides*: cf. 350, 355–6, 366.

**387–8** The Salii, an ancient college of priests, properly have place within the *Fasti* as a sourcebook on Roman religious practice; but after the programmatic announcement in 260 they get only this single couplet: Mamurius dominates the end of the episode. A more detailed account is given by Dion. Hal. 2.70–1, where he argues (in accordance with his overall thesis about the Greekness of Rome) that they are modelled on the Cretan Curetes, whose energetic clashing of shields protected the infant Jupiter (4.209–10). The Salii wore distinctive hats with points above (*apices*: Festus 439.22 Lindsay; Schäfer 1980); they had a *curia* or *sacrarium* on the Palatine (Cic. *Diu.* 1.30; Dion. Hal. 2.70.1; Val. Max. 1.8.11). As well as for their dancing (Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.12, 4.1.27–8 *pede candido | in morem Salium ter quatient humum*), they were a byword for their feasts: Cic. *Att.* 5.9.1, Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.2–4, Apul. *Met.* 4.22.2, 7.10.5, 9.22.3; Suetonius (*Claud.* 33.1) tells how Claudius, tempted by the smell of cooking food, abandoned a legal case in the forum to go and eat with the Salii in the temple of Mars Ultor. Nothing is said in this peaceful context about the association between the shields and the declaration of war, as mentioned by Servius at *Aen.* 7.603, 8.3. Nor does O. mention their number; but Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.2 argued that twelve, one for each shield, was symbolic of the months of the year as established by Numa: thus like Mamurius (383 n.) and Anna (145–6, 657; 523–696 n.) the Salii contributed to the new year celebrations. See Habinek 2005: 8–33 for a wide-ranging discussion. **iam dederat** takes the narrative briefly back

in time, and the pluperfect also serves as a pointer to earlier versions of the information, in particular Livy 1.20.4 (cited on 259–60). **Saliis a saltu:** the obvious etymology is supported by a variety of texts: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.85 *Salii ab salitando*; Virg. *Aen.* 8.663 *exsultantis Salios*; Porphyrio on Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.11–12; Festus 438.27–8 Lindsay; Serv. *Aen.* 8.663 *dicti Salii ideo quod circa aras saliunt et tripudiant*. **armaque et ad certos uerba canenda modos:** a pentameter about religious practice combines and transmutes the opening words of the *Aeneid* (*Arma uirumque cano*), the *Amores* (*Arma graui numero*) and *Ars Amatoria* 3 (*Arma dedi Danaïs*: cf. *dederat*, 387). The *carmina Saliorum* were regarded as the earliest Latin poetic texts (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7.3; Cic. *de Orat.* 3.197), supposedly written by Numa himself (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.86–7, and Porphyrio *ad loc.*). Being largely unintelligible, the song was open to controversial interpretation: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7.2, 26–7; Quint. 1.6.40 *Saliorum carmina uix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*; fragments remain of commentaries by Stilo (several times cited by Festus for its exposition of obscure words) and Sabidius. The phrase *certos modos* seems to imply the repeating rhythmic patterns of verse: cf. Tib. 1.7.37–8 (of the way that wine inspired the invention of singing and dancing) *ille liquor docuit uoces inflectere cantu, | mouit et ad certos nescia membra modos* (cf. 2.1.52–6), Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.58.

**389–92 merces mihi gloria detur:** *gloria* is something O. sees himself as having won with his art: *Am.* 3.15.8 *Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego*. However, at *Pont.* 3.3.39–40 he uses *merces* in apposition to the reward given to him by another Roman ruler: *pro quibus* [the books of the *Ars*] *exilium misero est mihi reddita merces, | id quoque in extremis et sine pace locis* (*extremo* in 390 heightens the sense of allusion); *gloria* is used in a similar antithesis at *Pont.* 2.7.47–8 *artibus ingenuis quaesita est gloria multis, | infelix perii dotibus ipse meis*.

**nominaque extremo carmine nostra sonent:** in finding a place for Mamurius at the end of a poem, Numa does for the craftsman what Ovid does for himself, notably in the penultimate couplet of *Ars* 2 (744) and the identical final words of *Ars* 3 (812): *Naso magister erat*. And without using his name, O. gives a prominent role to himself with the clausal *uiuam* of *Amores* 1.15.42 and *Met.* 15.879; cf. similarly Horace, *Carm.* 3.30. On the other hand, there is again a significant omission: Augustus claims at *R.G.* 10.1 *nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in saliare carmen* that the same honour was voted for him by the senate; but O. does not cast shade over the honour paid to Mamurius. For interpretation of O.’s take on this, see Barchiesi 1997a: 110–12; contrast Miller 2014 on Virgil’s Salian hymn (*Aen.* 8.285–305). On the importance of perpetuating one’s *nomen* in Roman society, see Oakley on Livy 8.30.9. **inde:** 229 n. **promissa:** an addition to the three promises made and kept earlier in the story, to Numa by Picus and Faunus (321–2) and by Jupiter (345–6; cf. 365), and by Numa himself to the Romans (351–6). **operi**

... **uetusto** i.e. the ancient metal-working that produced the *ancilia*: the phrase completes the sense after *praemia persoluunt* as if it were a personal dative. *uetusto* evokes Veturius, regarded as the second part of the name of Mamurius (542 n.), e.g. by Festus 117.13–14 Lindsay ‘*Mamuri Veturi nomen frequenter in cantibus*’ (before reporting the story given here). But the phrase was interpreted very differently, as *memoria uetus*, by Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.49 (261 n.; similarly Plutarch, *Numa* 13.7): it is as if Robert Burns’ ‘cup o’ kindness’ were to be drunk at Hogmanay in celebration of a tall elderly gentleman called ‘Syne’. Bömer (3.259 n.) and Bremmer 1993: 160–5 date the invention of Mamurius to the early Augustan elevation of the importance of the Salii, a theory that depends, however, entirely on his absence from Varro’s text (see pp. 24–5). **Mamuriumque uocant**: the name of Mamurius brings the episode, like the *carmen Saliare*, to its end.

**393–8** After 392 verses Ovid completes the third of the chronologically ordered narratives with which he has opened the book and illustrated the Kalends. The end has been stressed by the words *extremo carmine* (390), but still he has not finished his account of 1st March. First he prolongs the day with two couplets, and then with a further single couplet on an apparently different topic.

**393–6 nubere siqua uoles, ... | differ**: advice to a man on when to marry has a long history in the didactic genre: see Hesiod, *Works & Days* 695–8 (age), 800 (day of the month). Ovid, however, advises a female reader, as at 2.425 (*nupta, quid exspectas?* – the bride is encouraged to let herself be struck at the Lupercalia, as the only way of getting pregnant) and 2.557–60 (where *uiduae puellae* are advised to postpone wedding torches till after the Feralia). Here, as fits the continuation of the already long day, it is delay he recommends. The Matronalia might look a good day for a wedding, but, because it is Mars’ day and the *ancilia* are carried round the city, it is also associated with *arma*, and, as fighting does not suit husband and wife, a day of better omen should be sought. The mock marriage of Mars and Minerva/Anna might also serve as a deterrent (689–96; Porphyrio on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.209). O. echoes Cat. 62.59–60 *ne pugna cum tali coniuge ... | non aequum est pugnare*. The reader is being delayed too, if only briefly, and we might look for **commoda magna**. Part of the point is to remind us of the rituals of Roman life, such as weddings, that are not dependent on the calendar. But there is also a suggestive undercurrent. If we ask why bride and groom are in a hurry (**properabitis ambo**), it is hard to find an answer that does not involve sex (compare the haste of Mars in 21), and the diction encourages such a reading. *properare* is associated with sex explicitly at *Amores* 1.4.47, and in a prolonged *double entendre* at *Ars* 1.701 (see Heyworth 1992); it comes three times in the advice on sex given to men in *Ars* 2.689–732: twice they are told not to be in too much of a hurry

(695, 717), but at the climax (727) *ad metam properate simul*. Adams (1987: 144) thinks the verb became an idiomatic term, equivalent to ‘come’. **arma** too frequently has an erotic sense (cf. again Achilles at *Ars* 1.702 *fortia ... sumpserat arma*; Prop. 4.8.88 *toto soluimus arma toro*), especially with **condita** (‘stored away’, but also ‘sheathed’: cf. the pun at Prop. 2.1.14 *longas ... condimus Iliadas*). Thus the omen is made more apt, the *arma* turned from weapons of war to instruments of love-making. **arma mouent pugnās**: the *ancilia* are ‘moved’ in March (Livy 37.33.6 *ancilia mouentur*), but O. playfully turns *arma* into the subject. Cf. Livy 1.20.4 *Salios ... caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ... iussit* (and the similar Val. Max. 1.1.9); Suetonius, *Otho* 8.3 *motis necdum conditis ancilibus*.

**397–8 his ... | lucibus** may imply the whole month, or perhaps (as Bömer) that part of it when the *Salii* carried the *ancilia* (395; Dion. Hal. 2.70.2 speaks of ‘many days’). **coniunx apicati cincta Dialis**: on the Flamen *Dialis* and his wife, the *Flaminica*, see Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 10.15, abstracting just a few of the many ceremonial requirements from earlier books, e.g. *sine apice sub diuio esse licitum non est* (‘he is not allowed to be out in the open air without his cap’: 10.15.17), and *atque etiam cum it ad Argeos, quod neque comit caput neque capillum depectit* (‘and the additional fact that when she goes to the *Argei*, she neither dresses her head nor combs her hair’: 10.15.30). The other main source is Plutarch’s *Roman Questions* 40, 44, 50, 86, 109–13; see also Boels 1973. At first sight this is a delightfully inconsequential couplet. The *Flaminica* had to observe many restrictions on her behaviour, and it seems arbitrary that Ovid draws attention to one here, at the end of his longest day. *his lucibus* is so vague as to be uninformative; **etiam** suggests informal accretion (cf. Gellius 10.15.30, cited above). One can thus read the unkempt priestess as simply a part of the Roman year every bit as valid as the *Matronalia*, the dances of the *Salii*, or the *Pontifex Maximus*. However, when at 6.219–34 Ovid enquires about a propitious time for his daughter’s wedding, the *Flaminica* tells him to wait till after the *Ides* of June, for before then she does not comb her hair, cut her nails, or (most significantly) touch her husband. This serves to gloss 3.397–8: here too we should supply the additional restrictions, and the implication that the *Flaminica* is the symbol for all Roman brides (Hersch 2010: 102–3, 283–5). *etiam* thus turns out to add a further reason for delay, and editors should not print the text with a gap between 396 and 397. Even though 393–8 cohere, they still make a striking shift away from the narrative style that precedes. Comparable is what happens in *Metamorphoses* 1: the narrative progresses in a chronological and orderly way till 451, and then with the words *Primus amor* (452) love intervenes at the start of the *Daphne* episode and disorder ensues. Here it is sexual diction that marks the move from quasi-epic narrative to the brokenness of seven vignettes in 60-odd lines.

## 399–402 Pisces

The evening setting of one of the two fish that make up the constellation is announced as 3rd March; Matthew Robinson\* calculates that the Evening Setting of the star in the head of the Northern Fish (*tau Piscium*) occurred on 12th March. The morning rising happened at about the same time, as is noted by Columella (11.2.24 *Piscis aquilonius desinit oriri* on the 13th) and Pliny (*Nat.* 18.237: 8th March). **tertia nox de mense:** as usual the progress through the month is clearly marked (cf. *quintae*, 404; *sextus*, 415). Otherwise continuity comes only from the repetition of parts of *mouere* and *conditus* from 395–6. For the application of the prepositional phrase *de mense* to a noun, Rappold 1881: 810 compares *Met.* 1.595 *de plebe deo*. **suos ubi mouerit ignes:** night is treated as a divinity who puts his fires, i.e. the stars, in motion. For *ignes*, found in some later manuscripts, cf. *Met.* 4.81 *nocturnos Aurora remouerat ignes*. Though editors accept the *ortus* of the oldest manuscripts, the phrasing is strange, even in comparison to *Stat. Silu.* 1.6.9 *uix aurora novos mouebat ortus*, since *ortus* is commonly used in the sense ‘dawn’ (*OLD* 1b) but not ‘nightfall’. For the postponement of *ubi*, cf. 879 (to fourth place in the clause). **conditus e geminis Piscibus alter erit:** a fish has appeared, only to be sacrificed, at 342; this one is immediately ‘hidden’, i.e. it sets. **nam duo sunt:** an amusingly matter-of-fact explanation of the number and identity of the two Fish, with no attempt at an aetiology: that has been given in the previous stellar narrative, at 2.458–72, when the sun (*aetherios equos*) enters the constellation – one of the Fish has carried Venus across the Euphrates, the other Cupid. On the naming see Aratus, *Phaen.* 239–41; Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 21; Hyginus, *Astr.* 3.29.

## 403–6 Bootes

March 5th is close to the Evening Rising of Arcturus, the brightest star in Bootes (Apparent, 23rd Feb; True, 3rd March), but a long way from the Morning Setting of the constellation, which happens in June. As the references to dawn (403–4) and setting (*mergetur*, 406) are quite clear, this looks like an error. As usual we cannot say whether it is Ovid’s or a model’s. It seems an odd error for Ovid to make as he has ascribed the Evening Rising to 11th February (2.153–4); but see 449–50 n. for a similar mistake in Columella. The contrast with what follows is neat (*uisus effugietque tuos. | at non effugiet Vindemitor*), but nothing obvious follows from the presence of the constellation here. **Tithonia coniunx** ‘the wife of Tithonus’, i.e. Aurora, whose willingness to rise early O. explained at *Amores* 1.13.35–42 as caused by the senility of her immortal but decayed husband. **croceis:** the colour of dawn, and so of Aurora, is regularly associated with saffron: cf. *Amores* 2.4.43 *croceis Aurora capillis*; *Met.* 3.150

*croceis inuecta rotis Aurora*; *Georgics* 1.447 (= *Aen.* 4.585, 9.460) *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*.

**Arctophylax, siue est piger ille Bootes:** the story of Callisto's rape, pregnancy, dismissal by Diana, and metamorphosis into a bear at Juno's hands has been told at 2.153–92. The narrative ends when she encounters her son Arcas, who is hunting; to prevent inadvertent matricide the pair are turned into constellations, the Great Bear and *Arctophylax*, the Bear-Ward, who seems to follow behind, and thus now to guard her. An alternative name for *Vrsa Maior* was *Plaustrum* (the Wagon or Wain; also *Septentriones*; modern English has a variety of names too, e.g. Plough or Big Dipper). Hence Bootes (the Ox-driver), who was depicted driving the Wain in the star charts (Aratus, *Phaen.* 91–3). Whatever the name, he is a large constellation, visible for up to ten months of the year in the northern hemisphere, and from *Odyssey* 5.272 on he was therefore described as 'late' or 'slow' to set or to move the wagon: hence *piger*; cf. esp. Aratus 581–4 'It takes four signs of the Zodiac together to receive Bootes' setting. When he is sated with daylight, he occupies more than half of the passing night in the loosing of his oxen, in the season when he begins setting as the sun goes down' (Kidd's translation); Prop. 3.5.35 *serus uersare boues et plaustra Bootes*.

#### 407–14 Vindemitor

Having briefly revisited constellations that played a significant role in book 2, Ovid introduces a new star, epsilon in the constellation Virgo.

**407–8 at non effugiet Vindemitor:** one of the references to astronomy where Ovid is quite inexplicit about what phenomenon he means. Effectively all he tells us is that the constellation is visible, and that it does not set at dawn. This matches the expression of Columella 11.2.24 (2nd March), *Vindemitor apparet*, as well as being compatible with Euctemon (4th March) and perhaps Pliny (*Nat.* 18.237, but the text is uncertain: Mayhoff reads *emersu* 'rising', Rackham *immersu* 'setting'), and not far from what modern calculations tell us (15th/24th February: Robinson 2007: 152) for the Evening Rising. The name (τρυγητήρ in Greek) may have been given to the star because its Morning Rising occurred in late August or September, the period of the vintage; but O. bases his aetiology on the action that led to death and catasterism (413–14). **hoc quoque causam | unde trahat sidus parua docere mora est** 'it is a small delay to explain from where this star too draws its origin.' The diction emphasizes the didactic function of the passage (*causam*, *docere*), but also the slight and erotic nature of the tale (*parua* ... *mora*; 175 n.). *quoque* points to the presence of *aetia* for Pisces and Arctophylax in book 2.

**409–12 Ampelon:** equivalent to the accusative of ἄμπελος, the (feminine) Greek noun meaning 'vine', as is brought out in 412, *de pueri*

*nomine nomen habet.* **intonsum** ‘unshorn’, i.e. youthful enough not to have cut his hair. The adjective is regularly applied to Apollo (*Met.* 1.564, *Hor. Carm.* 1.21.2) and Bacchus himself (*Pont.* 2.9.31, *Sen. Phae.* 754): see especially Tib. 1.4.37–8 *aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas: | nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.* **satyro nymphaque creatum:** O. evokes (without any specificity) the wild world we enter repeatedly in his poetry, the world of Oenone (*Ep.* 5.135–8), Syrinx and Pan (*Met.* 1.689–712), Midas (*Met.* 11.85–193), Priapus (*Fast.* 6.319–48), and above all Bacchus (*Fast.* 1.391–440, 3.737–70). **Ismariis ... iugis** ‘Thracian hills’, the area where Odysseus got the wine that made Polyphemus drunk (*Od.* 9.196–213). It is seen as visited by Bacchus during his triumphant journey from Asia to Greece; cf. *Met.* 9.642 *Ismariae bacchae*, *Virg. Geo.* 2.37–8 *iuuat Ismara Baccho | conserere.* **tradidit huic:** Bacchus is here (and generally in the *Fasti*) treated as an older figure, the lover giving a gift to the young beloved; cf. the account of Ampelos given by Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* books 10–12. **uitem pendentem e frondibus ulmi:** the classic Roman vision of the vine trained on an elm (*Am.* 2.16.41, *Ep.* 5.47, *Met.* 10.100, 14.661–6; *Cat.* 62.54, *Virg. Ecl.* 2.70, *Geo.* 1.2, *Hor. Epist.* 1.16.3). The god’s gift seems to be both a specific vine and (in the pentameter) the plant generally. **nunc** marks the statement as aetiological, still functioning in the modern world: so too in book 3 at 116, 246, 328 (n.), 457 (n.), 516, 786.

**413–14** An effectively brief piece of narrative: one minute Ampelos is picking grapes (as *Vindemitor* = ‘grape-picker’ should), the next he is lost. **legit** (as often) plays on the sense ‘reads’, and so points to the mimesis, by which Ampelos reaches the end of the hexameter line – and falls, as the reader’s eye does before the enjambed **decidit.** **pictas ... uuas** ‘painted grapes’, i.e. those with the colour of ripeness; but the epithet enhances the sense of artistic imitation (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 35.65 on the realistic grapes of Zeuxis). **Liber in astra tulit:** a programmatic moment: the same identity of Bacchus (‘the Liberator’) dominates the Ariadne story, especially the longer catasterism at the end (507–16), and also (of course) the Liberalia (713–90). The old Roman name was also enshrined in the god’s main temple, that of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine (512 n.). On the multiple meanings and connotations of *Liber* see 713–90 nn., Wiseman 1998: 35–42. Here there may be a play on *liber* (‘book’): the telling of the story in Ovid’s book also preserves, and elevates, Ampelos.

#### **415–28** Augustus as Pontifex Maximus

The *Fasti* Maffeiani (HOC DIE CAESAR PONTIF(EX) MAXIM(VS) FACT(VS) EST), the *Fasti Praenestini* (a longer but more fragmentary note), and other records report 6th March as the anniversary of the day on which Augustus became Pontifex Maximus. O. includes the event, but does not



make the passage a centrepiece of the poem: he leaves it as one more scene from Rome's year, disconnected from what precedes and follows. For a rather different account of the passage see Herbert-Brown 1994: 66–81. Bowersock 1990 suggests that the procession depicted on the Ara Pacis is the one that marked the assumption of the priesthood.

**415–18** *Sextus ubi ...* | **Phoebus**: the rapid and orderly progress through the month continues, the ascending sun succeeding night (399) and dawn (403–4). **cliuosum scandit Olympum**: though Olympus here means the sky, Ovid uses language that fits the mountain. The notion of climbing Olympus is also appropriate for the deification of Augustus, here assumed (cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.562 [*Caesar*] *uiam ... adfectat Olympo*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9–12). The next mention of Olympus comes at 442, where it is part of the ladder climbed by the Giants as they try to reach heaven. **alatis aethera carpit equis**: this too looks ahead, to another winged horse, Pegasus, whose story also involves an overreaching figure (455 n.). **quisquis ades castaeque colis penetralia Vestae**: only Vestal Virgins (hinted at with *castae*) would be expected within the *penetralia* of Vesta: cf. 45 n., 6.450 (Metellus, the Pontifex, takes exceptional action when the shrine is on fire) *uir intrabo non adeunda uiro*; 6.254 *dea, nec fueras aspicienda uiro*. However, in 421 and (especially) 425 Augustus too is shown as involved in the cult. At any rate Ovid addresses a very select audience. **gratare**: no recipient of the congratulations is expressed: *Vestae* is implied. The *Feriale Cumanum* reveals that there was a *supplicatio Vestae* on this day; the *Fasti Praenestini* announce *feriae* ('a holiday'). As Augustus' assumption of the office involved the creation of a shrine to Vesta on the Palatine (4.949–54), the celebrations may have marked this as much as the goddess's good fortune in gaining so excellent a priest. **Iliacis ... focus**: the fire that has supposedly burnt since Aeneas brought it from Troy: cf. Hector's ghost at *Aeneid* 2.296–7 *Vestamque potentem | aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem* (echoed in 421).

**419–22** Augustus became Pontifex Maximus on 6th March 12 BC, shortly after the death of Lepidus (his colleague as triumvir in the 30s), who had succeeded Julius Caesar in 44. By his own account, Augustus was proud of his restraint in refusing the office in Lepidus' lifetime, and of the crowd that assembled for his election (*Res gestae* 10.2):

Pontifex maximus ne fierem in uiui conlegae mei locum, populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi quod pater meus habuerat recusaui. quod sacerdotium aliquot post annos, eo mortuo qui ciuilis tumultus occasione occupauerat, cuncta ex Italia ad comitia mea confluyente multitudine, quanta Romae numquam narratur ad id tempus fuisse, recepi P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibus.

This passage occurs after a list of other titles (especially in section 7), so Ovid's **innumeris ... accessit titulis pontificalis honor** reads like a commentary on Augustus' text. The force of the relative clause **quos maluit ille mereri** seems therefore to be 'that he had more wish to gain' (the emphasis being on *maluit* rather than *mereri*): on Ovid's reading the *princeps* was not especially keen to be Pontifex Maximus (an office which strictly should have seen him moving to live in the forum rather than up on the Palatine). **aeterni numina praesunt | Caesaris**: a striking assertion of Caesar's divine power and immortality. Though Julius Caesar and Metellus are each described by Ovid as Vesta's priest (e.g. 699; 6.454), Herbert-Brown 1994: 68–81 argues that this reflects changes under Augustus, and that previously the Pontifex Maximus had only general oversight of the cult of Vesta. **imperii pignora iuncta uides**: the couplet is shaped to allow readers to feel themselves addressed, and thus to see Caesar as one of the 'conjoined pledges of empire'. However, the last person addressed, in 417–18, was the individual in the shrine, i.e. just the person who could see there the Palladium and the flame, two of the guarantees of Roman safety (6.417–54, esp. 445 *pignora fatalia*). Moreover, this leads on to *di ueteris Troiae*, which implies Vesta and the Penates, and Minerva as represented in the Palladium. The couplet echoes Livy 26.27.14 *Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperii Romani*; cf. also Florus 1.1 (on Numa):

ille ancilia atque Palladium, secreta quaedam imperii pignora,  
 Ianumque geminum, fidem pacis ac belli, in primis focum Vestae  
 uirginibus colendum dedit, ut ad simulacrum caelestium siderum  
 custos imperii flamma uigilaret.

Augustus replaces the Palladium, and the *ancile*, sent from heaven and described as *imperii pignora* at 346.

**423–4 dignissima praeda ferenti**: as a substantive *ferenti* is presumably a dative ('booty most worthy for the carrier'). *praeda* is used of Aeneas' burden also at *Met.* 13.626. **qua grauis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit**: the implication is that the divine objects brought divine protection (cf. 426); but some versions of the story have Aeneas allowed by the Greeks to leave the city with what he can carry, for reasons that are not always creditable (Dion. Hal. *Rom.* 1.48).

**425–8 ortus ab Aenea ... cognata ... cognatum**: Augustus was descended from Aeneas through the Julian *gens*, reputedly sprung from Aeneas' son Iulus. Augustus' mother Atia was Julius Caesar's niece, and he was formally (though illicitly) adopted into the *gens* by Caesar's will. By the imprecise reasoning of panegyric he thus shared the Trojan origin of the Penates

and Vesta (cf. Bömer 1987). **tangit**: an extraordinarily physical term for dealings with a virgin deity (and a rather absurd notion if we conceive of the goddess as fire): contrast the proper caution of Ovid and Metellus in book 6 (417 n.). Moreover, as Boyle 2003: 185 points out, the verb has a sexual connotation (*OLD* 2b; 6.231 *non tetigisse uirum*; *Am.* 1.4.4, *Ars* 2.692; cf. 701 *rapui*), and appears in a poem that will present Vesta as a potential rape victim (6.335–44). **sancta fouet ille manu** maintains the physicality of the interaction between Caesar and Vesta. Though *sancta* makes the action holy and *fouere* can mean ‘nurture’, *manu* encourages the reader to think of ‘fondle’ (*Am.* 1.4.5, *Ep.* 16.224, 21.190). **uiuie inextincti, flammaque duxcor, precor**: finally, and for one line, after all the sly innuendo and questioning of propriety, we reach unalloyed panegyric: Ovid puts in his own mouth a prayer for the unquenched life of Vesta’s fire and Rome’s leader, paired again as in 421. For *inextinctus* of the flame see 6.297; but the reader may remember 3.143–4, which describes the annual relighting. The next section, on *Veiovis*, will stress *ue* and other syllables beginning with *u* through specific statements (445–6) and repetition. This may make us wonder about the prominence of the sound in 426–8: *Vesta, fouet, uiuitis, uiuite*. At 6.299–300 the goddess’s name is derived from *ui stare*; but 6.291 *nec tu aliud Vestam quam uiuam intellege flammam* re-establishes a link already found here. See 11 n. for another etymology.

#### 429–48 Veiovis

March 7th, the Nones, was the dedication day of the small temple of Veiovis on the Capitol.

**429–34 Vna nota est Marti Nonis**: *nota* brings out the way in which Ovid is himself offering a commentary, on the inscribed *Fasti* that formalize the Julian calendar for the public (cf. 1.45–54 on the abbreviations that reveal the religious and legal status of each day). Thus the pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates* offer VEDI IN C[AP]ITO and the *Fasti Praenestini* ... VEDI]OVI ARTIS VEDIOVIS INTER DVOS LUCOS (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup> 233; commentary on 311; *artis* is apparently a corruption of *aedis* or *arcis*; in either case something else has been lost too). The single notice is then indicated in the *quod* clause (*sacrata quod illis / templa putant*). Less credible is Bailey’s view that *una nota* refers to the inscribed *F* (i.e. *fastus*); though at 5.727 *quattuor inde notis locus est* there is a reference to *Q.R.C.F.*, *quattuor* makes a significant point, and *una* would not. *Marti* is taken by commentators and translators to be the genitive of *Martius* (i.e. the month, as at 6.695 *Martius*). However, as the form is rare (perhaps not extant before Suet. *D.J.* 39.3), to take it as the dative of *Mars* seems a better choice: this will remind us of the month’s disarmed eponym just before weapons are taken from another heavyweight deity. For identification of the god with his month, cf. 2.1 *Ianus habet finem*; 3.135–6

*Kalendae Martis*; 4.629 *Veneris Idus*; *Ars* 1.406 *Kalendae / quas Venerem Marti continuasse iuuat* (similarly 4.130); and [Tib.] 3.8.1 *tuis, Mars magne, kalendis*. The Nones fall on the ninth day before the Ides (counting inclusively), hence 7th March by modern reckoning. **templa ... Veiovis**: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.74 lists Veiovis among other deities to whom the Sabine king Tatius made dedications; but this temple must be far later. Livy tells of a dedication and construction in the 190s (see Briscoe on 31.21.12 for detailed discussion of some difficulties in his accounts), and Pliny (*Nat.* 16.216) dates the cult image to 193 BC. It has been identified as the building nestled in a re-entrant angle of the so-called Tabularium, constructed in the Sullan period (*DAR* 153; Claridge 2010: 273; see the well-illustrated exposition of the find in Colini 1942; further bibliography given by M. Albertoni in the *LTUR* article). Vitruvius 4.8.4 comments on its unorthodox design, and defines its position in similar terms: *inter duos lucos*. One difficult issue underlying this passage is what relationship this Veiovis has to the one whose altar was part of the gentilician cult of the *gens Julia* in Bovillae (see e.g. Weinstock 1971: 8–12; Rüpke 2007: 26–7). There may be no link intended at all – Ovid makes no effort to bring Bovillae or the Julii to mind; but if we force knowledge of this fact into our reading of the text, it may be that a contrast is evoked between the autocratic powers now wielded by the family, symbolized by Jupiter and his thunderbolts, and the comparatively unimportant *gens* of earlier generations. **lucos ... ante duos**: ‘in front of the two groves’, i.e. on the Forum side of the saddle between the originally wooded summits on the Capitoline Hill (the Arx and the Capitol proper: *Aeneid* 8.351–8). Behind the temple was where Romulus established his ‘asylum’ (431–2; *Aeneid* 8.342) as a way of attracting population to the nascent city. Livy 1.8.5 shows the ease of the move from the two groves to the asylum in the next couplet: *locum qui nunc saep-tus escendentibus* (H. J. Edwards; *descendentibus* MSS; for discussion of this difficult passage, see *LTUR* ‘Asylum’ (Wiseman)) *inter duos lucos est asylum aperit* (similarly Velleius 1.8.5). **saxo lucum circumdedit alto**: *lucum* confuses the narrative by adding a third grove to the two in 430, and it may be a scribal error; but cf. 2.140 *tu recipis luco ... nefas* (i.e. Romulus receives criminals in the *asylum*), Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.71.3 *lucum asyli*. The wall is at odds with Livy 1.8.5, where *nunc* contrasts the current enclosure with the earlier state of the *asylum*. **tutus eris**: an echo of Propertius 3.3.24 (Apollo warns P. to stay close to the shore, i.e. to continue writing elegy) *tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est* (where *turba* means ‘stormy weather’, but also ‘crowd [of poets]’ as at Prop. 3.1.12). This becomes significant when we move on to the Callimachean language of the next couplet: Romulus is inviting people to join the Roman *turba*, but there is an implication that it is so small as not to constitute a *turba* at all. **tenui ... origine ... / turba ... non invidiosa**: words very evocative of the Roman appropriation

of Callimachean aesthetics. *tenuis* is used as an equivalent of λεπτός (Call. *Epig.* 27.2 Pf., *Aet.* fr. 1.24; *Am.* 1.2.7, 3.1.9, Virg. *Ecl.* 1.2, 6.8, Prop. 3.1.5–8, e.g.); *origo* is a Latin equivalent of αἴτιον; the crowd (*Epig.* 28) and Envy (*Hymn* 2.105–13; *Epigram* 21.4 Pf) are both registers of Callimachean disapprobation, combined at *Aet.* fr. 1.17 (ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος ‘Be gone, baneful race of Envy’) and Prop. 3.1.21 *inuida turba*; for Envy in Ovid, see *Am.* 1.15.1 (and McKeown), *Rem.* 361–98. Here, though the origin is appropriately small-scale, the populace is dissociated from envy, because it too was then small. Ovid has juxtaposed the two poles of this aesthetic in the context of early Rome also at 2.362 *ad exiguas turba uocata dapēs. non inuidiosa* brings out that the Roman people was not originally protective of the rights of citizenship: a contrast with the modern age is implied, and particularly perhaps with the period of the Social War, provoked because allied polities in Italy were being treated unequally and denied citizenship rights.

**435–6 tamen** brings us back to consideration of Veiovis (the point of the digression on the asylum will become apparent later). **disce:** a marker of the didactic nature of the poem, it occurs six times in the *Fasti*, including 1.101 (the first word of Janus), 3.177; cf. *Ars* 1.50, 459, *Med.* 51; Virg. *Geo.* 3.414; Prop. 4.8.1 (initially part of his sequence on *sacra*). **curue:** though the indirect questions are not really alternatives (437–44 answers the first, 445–8 the second), *ue* makes a better contribution to the play on *Veiovis* than *que* (found in several MSS) would have done. An immediate effect is the sound, but the play on ‘or’ reverberates too: Ovid often gives two or more etymological explanations; here he specifies just one, but there is an important covert alternative (448 n.).

**437–40 Iuppiter est iuuenis:** a quicker, more straightforward answer than we might expect. The implied *Iouis* and the *ue* in *iuuenis* immediately suggest an etymological explanation for the deity’s name, and we get apparently authoritative evidence, on the basis of the sacred image: the god appears young (437; cf. Juv. 6.15–16 *Ioue nondum barbato*), and, as he has no thunderbolts in hand (438), it must (if Jupiter) be before the battle with the giants (439–40). Hinds 1992: 93–7 shows how tendentious Ovid is being, however: at 5.12.11–12 Aulus Gellius writes:

Simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis quod est in aede de qua supra dixi **sagittas tenet**, quae sunt uidelicet partae ad nocendum. quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra, eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat.

The presence of the she-goat suggests that the statue may be the same (even though the explanation is very different): Ovid has apparently

been blind to the arrows seen by Gellius (which might even have been originally intended to be thunderbolts). As with Mars in 1-10, 171 Ovid disarms a bellicose god (cf. Numa's vain attempts in 285-378) and makes him fit into the generic scope of this elegiac poem, a point brought out by **inermis** in 440 (echoing 8 and 9). A further complication is that *iuuenis* evokes another etymology. Gellius considers the names *Diouis* and *Vedious* together, and sees the former as derived from *iuuare* (5.12.8):

Cum Iouem igitur et Diouem a iuuando nominassent, eum contra deum, qui non iuuandi potestatem, sed uim nocendi haberet (nam deos quosdam, ut prodessent, celebrabant, quosdam, ut ne obessent, placabant) Vediouem appellauerunt dempta atque detracta iuuandi facultate.

He goes on to explain the force of the prefix *ue* as either emphasizing size or smallness (as Ovid in 445-8), or else privative. But if Veiovis has no weapons he can hardly cause harm: that is rather the prerogative of the older figure who carries the thunderbolt (285 n.): the etymology is inverted. **fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantas | sumpta Ioui** 'Thunderbolts were first taken up by Jupiter [597 n.] after the Giants dared to attack heaven.' For the use of the participial phrase with a preposition in *post ausos Gigantas* (Greek accusative plural), see 65 n. Gigantomachy is a regular marker of the highest poetic ambition (Innes 1979), used here as a foil for the young, unarmed deity.

**441-2** Poets like to play with the order of the mountains used by the Giants to make a stairway to heaven: there are two kinds of variation, the order in which the mountains are mentioned, and the order in which the giants assembled their ladder. Sometimes poets start at the bottom (e.g. Virg. *Geo.* 1.281-2, Sen. *Ag.* 338-9, *Aetna* 49 [all P<Os<Ol])<sup>1</sup> and sometimes at the top (*Am.* 2.1.13-14, *Met.* 1.155 [both Ol>P>Os]; Stat. *Silu.* 3.2.65-6 [P>Os>Ol]), and sometimes (as Ovid here and at 1.307-8 [Os>Ol; P^]), they start half way up (*Odyssey* 11.315-16 [Os>Ol; Os<P]; Prop. 2.1.19-20 [Os>Ol; P^]; Sen. *Herc. f.* 971-2 [Os>P; Ol^]). The effect here is nicely unbalancing: we seem to be heading from Ossa, to the higher Pelion, to Olympus, expected to be higher still, and suddenly we find ourselves not raised to heaven, but brought down to earth: **in solida fixus Olympus humo**. The structure is thus anticlimactic; we move away from the burning that dominates at the start of hexameter (*ignibus*) and pentameter (*arsit*), as Jupiter first throws his thunderbolts. When the teaching continues in the next couplet it deals with the infant god, not his almighty future weapons.

<sup>1</sup> '<' here means 'is below', '>' 'is above'; '^' 'is highest'.

**443–4** Mention of the she-goat tended by Cretan nymphs and providing milk for the young Jupiter recalls Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* (an allusion pointed by *feruntur*: 45 n.). After his birth in Arcadia (called Ἀρκαδία, 'the land where Zeus was not' in 20: a precedent for *Veiovis*, and echoed by O. at 659), he is conveyed to Crete, where he is cuddled by the 'Dictaeon tree-nymphs' (47), then laid in a cradle byAdrasteia, and he sucks the teat of the she-goat Amalthea. Callimachus' hymn divides into two parts, one describing the birth and infancy of the god in some detail, the second praising him as the master of the universe, with the ambiguous participle κούριζοντος ('crying like a baby' or 'growing into a man': 54) acting as the hinge between the two. Ovid's passage makes Veiovis the younger of these two forms of Jupiter. **infanti** recalls κούριζοντος, and in its etymological sense ('unable to speak') explains the distortion of *Iouis* in *Veiovis*.

**445–8** At Cicero, *N.D.* 3.62 Cotta criticizes the etymological approach to explaining divinities: *in multis enim nominibus haerebitis: quid Veiovi facies? quid Vulcano? quamquam, quoniam Neptunum a nando appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen quod non possis una littera explicare unde ductum sit*. Ovid shows how easily Veiovis falls to this approach. **uegrandia ... quae male creuerunt**: though *uegrandis* comes to mean 'small', it is obvious that the force of *ue* here is negative (like *male*): 'unbig'. *creuerunt* adds to the play on the significant syllable. **uescaque parua uocant**: *uescus* ('mean') is used by Ovid only here, but one 'farmer' we know to have used it is Virgil in the *Georgics* (3.175, 4.131). **Veiovis ... non magni ... Iouis**: although these lines have both the explicit explanation of the force of *ue* as 'small' and the greatest concentration of instances of the syllable (plus others beginning in *u* to reinforce it), the play on the name is already prominent in 434–7: in particular the juxtaposition *iuuenis iuuenales* (437) brings out the notion that Veiovis is the youthful Jupiter: an appropriate god for the infant city, as is marked by the proximity of the shrine to the asylum. The whole sequence, in arguing that *ue* indicates lack of growth, feeds back to *uetus* in 434: on Ovid's logic this should mean 'small', and context gives it precisely that sense, glossed as it is by *tenui* in 433, and by the background of the asylum, aimed at making the small city grow. **cur non ego ... suspicer**: the phrasing of the question draws attention to the controversial nature of Ovid's claim. At the same time he offers an alternative to the explicit statement. *non* is used twice here; *non magni* operates as a gloss on *uegrandis*; and the image described in 437–8 is *not* the bearded, armed Jupiter. The passage thus allows us to take *ue* as negative in force: when we read *Iuppiter est iuuenis*, we can understand it to mean 'he is **not** Jupiter'. The asylum, brought in because it stands adjacent to the temple, turns out to provide an important analogy for the god: just as he, the young Jupiter, is essentially unlike Jupiter, so the city

when newly founded was so small as to be essentially unlike Rome, at least if we understand by that the crowded modern Rome. An additional play is that *suspicer* ('surmise') in its etymological sense ('look up': cf. *suspice*, 450) has a local significance: looking up from the shrine of Veiovis one might well see the grander temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (not just *magnus*) higher up, on top of the Capitol.

#### 449–58 Pegasus

After the disorderly narrative of Jupiter/Veiovis, the story of Pegasus is told chronologically: birth, powers, creation of Hippocrene, catasterism. For insights into various intertextualities, see Hinds 1987a: 11–14, 21–4. An important model is Aratus, *Phaen.* 205–24, which says nothing about the Gorgon, but dedicates eight lines to the Hippocrene story.

**449–50** This is the period of the Morning Rising of Pegasus (so Columella 11.2.24, though his text at 11.2.31 then follows a well-established false tradition in having it setting on 21st: see Robinson 2007: 144–5). But with **iam** ('already') Ovid seems to imply a reference to evening (unless we take *iam* with *caeruleum* = 'sky-blue' as a marker of the lightening before dawn). **caeruleum ... caelum**: an obvious play on the etymology of *caeruleus*, this goes back to Ennius, e.g. *Ann.* 54–5 *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli / templa* (the apotheosis of Romulus). **suspice ... uidebis** 'look up: you will see': the imperative is used for vividness in place of a conditional clause, and *uidebis* then serves as apodosis. As at 406 the second person in this astronomical context evokes the style of Aratus (see p. 30, and e.g. *Phaen.* 223–4). **Gorgonei** anticipates the birth myth in the next couplet. Transferred by Propertius as far as Hippocrene (3.3.32) in the earliest extant usage, it becomes a standard way of referring to Pegasus. **colla**: the stars regarded as making up the neck rise before the body; Aratus comments on the length of the neck (211).

**451–4 creditur**: the birth of Pegasus is told in a report of Perseus' speech at *Met.* 4.785–6 *pennisque fugacem / Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos*. Here likewise *creditur* distances the story. **caesae grauida ceruice Medusae** 'from the pregnant neck of the slaughtered Medusa': the phrasing is perhaps influenced by Lycophron, *Alexandra* 843, where Cassandra refers to Medusa as 'the throat-childing marble-eyeing weasel' (τῆς δειρόπαιδος μαρμαρώπιδος γαλῆς), evoking the tradition that weasels gave birth from the neck. **sanguine respersis**: the spattering of blood looks ahead to the spangling of stars. **lapso** 'gliding': he already moves like a heavenly body (*OLD* 2). **caelum pro terra, pro pede pinna fuit**: cf. Manilius 5.97–100, on Bellerophon, *cui caelum campus fuerat, terraeque fretumque | sub pedibus*.



**455–8 indignanti noua frena receperat ore:** this refers to the horse's initial reluctance to accept a bridle, but *indignanti* calls to mind a stronger manifestation of his fierceness: when Bellerophon tried to fly Pegasus up to heaven, he was thrown off; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.26–9 *exemplum graue praebebat ales | Pegasus terrenum equitem grauatus | Bellerophontem, | semper ut te digna sequare*; Pindar, *Isthm.* 7.44–7 'winged Pegasus threw his master Bellerophon when he wished to go to the stables of heaven in pursuit of the company of Zeus', *Olymp.* 13.63–92; and Euripides' play *Bellerophon* (of which some fragments survive: 285–312). **leuis ... ungula:** Hinds 1987a: 21 observes how this generically appropriate description of the lightly flying foot of the horse contrasts with the epic *dura ungula* ('hard hoof') of *Met.* 5.257. **Aonias ... aquas:** the epithet not only places the spring Hippocrene geographically in Boeotia (1.490, Cat. 61.28), but also links it with the poetic stream that flows from the start of Hesiod's *Theogony* through Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 2 into Latin poetry (e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 10.12, *Georg.* 3.11): see Hollis on Cornelius Severus, *FRP* 209. **nunc ... ante:** the antithesis is a marker of brief histories of metamorphosis: cf. 4.348 *Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat* (of the changing 'founder' of the temple of Cybele); 6.265, 404 *nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit* (the *lacus Curtius* in the forum); *Met.* 10.107 *nunc arbor, puer ante* (Cyparissus). **fruitur caelo:** similarly Germanicus of Pegasus at *Arat.* 223: *sidere gaudet*.

#### 459–516 Ariadne's Crown

Ariadne, daughter of Minos and Pasiphae, assisted Theseus to kill her half-brother, the Minotaur, and then escape from the labyrinth. In gratitude, or on her insistence, he takes her on the voyage back towards Athens, but abandons her on the island of Dia or Naxos. His departure and her consequent distress were the subject of innumerable wall-paintings (see e.g. Elsner 2007: 67–109) and repeated treatments in poetry; some depict the arrival of the god Bacchus, whose consort Ariadne becomes (as frequently on Greek vases: *LIMC* 'Dionysos' 708–76). In Latin, the story had already appeared as the centrepiece of Catullus 64, an extended ecphrasis of a coverlet for the marriage bed of Peleus and Thetis (50–266), in which Ariadne moves from beach to cliff, and then speaks at length (132–201). This is Ovid's fourth extended version of the myth (in addition to a number of passing references), following *Ep.* 10 (a letter to Theseus from the shores of Naxos, composed before the arrival of Bacchus – though verse 95 plays with what the reader knows is imminent), *Ars* 1.525–64, and *Met.* 8.169–82. The text is a conglomeration of phrases from these and other models, almost a *cento*. Reference to and evocation of repetition (471–6, 485–6, 505), return (466), reading (462), and memory (473) adorn this

allusive recreation of previous narratives: the passage has accordingly become a foundation stone for discussions of the signposting of allusion in Latin poetry (Haupt 1875–6: 2.71–2; Conte 1986: 60–3; Hinds 1998: 3–4, 11; Armstrong 2006: 48–51; Nauta 2013: 223–5). For further discussion of these narratives as a sequence, see Landolfi 2000: 83–122, Gamberale 2002, and especially Armstrong 2006: 187–260; many of the allusions are listed by Auhagen 1999: 163–70 and Murgatroyd 2005: 263–7. Similar reflections on revisiting previously trodden ground may be found in the speech of the ghost of Ariadne when she appears to her sleeping husband at Nonnus, *Dion.* 48.530–63.

Titian's famous painting 'Bacchus and Ariadne' (in the National Gallery) includes the constellation in the sky above Ariadne's head – a detail from the Ovidian accounts of the pair alongside the artist's exploitation of details from Catullus 64. This is most easily understood as an allusion to *Met.* 8.177–80, where the catasterism comes at the first meeting (it is likewise mentioned, though not specifically enacted, at *Ars* 1.557–8). In the *Fasti* the catasterism serves as consolation after a period of estrangement between the two; awareness of this account gives a darker edge to the presence of the stars in Titian's picture, hanging in the sky on the far left above Ariadne, and the disappearing ship of Theseus, who is in the *Fasti* a model for Bacchus himself.

**459–60 protinus aspicias uenienti nocte** 'immediately when night comes you will see ...': cf. 2.153–4 *tertia nox ueniat, Custodem protinus Vrsae | aspicias. uenienti nocte* is an ablative absolute, as at 1.655: for this form of the ablative in a strictly participial usage, cf. 5.571 *hinc stanti milite iusto, Ep.* 5.133 *manet Oenone fallenti casta marito*. After a nocturnal passage, the phrasing implies that we are moving on to the next night (8th March). The evening rising of the constellation is not mentioned in other Latin texts, but has been calculated as occurring in the second quarter of March (Robinson 2007: 153). **Cnosida** 'of Cnossos', i.e. 'Cretan', but especially apt for Ariadne, whose father's palace was at Cnossos. O. has the Greek third-declension form *Cnosis* of Ariadne herself at *Ep.* 15.25, *Ars* 1.527, 3.158, *Rem.* 745, and here employs it as an adjectival equivalent to *Cnosius* (found already in Catullus); cf. Virg. *Geo.* 1.222 *Cnosiaque ardentis ... stella Coronae*. **Thēsēō**: the adjective is trisyllabic, as in the description at *Ars* 3.459 *Thēsēi criminis heres* of Theseus' son Demophoon (who deserts Phyllis), and at *Met.* 8.263 *Thēsēā laude, Trist.* 1.3.66 **facta dea est** 'she was made a goddess'. Ariadne has not been mentioned directly, but O. likes the slippage between the constellation and the heroine herself: cf. 513–16, *Met.* 8.177–8 (cited on 516: the ordering of clauses lets *utque perenni | sidere clara foret* refer to Ariadne until *coronam* appears in the next clause), and *Ars* 1.557–8 where Bacchus first tells Ariadne *caelo*

*spectabere sidus*, and then announces *saepe reget dubiam Cressa Corona ratem* (the majority of MSS read *reges*, which would make the identification a direct one).

**461–4 iam ... mutarat coniuge Bacchum** ‘already she had got Bacchus in exchange for her husband’: for the construction after *mutare*, see *OLD* 2b. The verb (which recurs at 476, 512, and nowhere else in the book) is a thematic leitmotif of the *Metamorphoses* (already in 1.1–2), and *iam* + (syncopated) pluperfect could be read as pointing to the pre-existence of the ‘changed’ Bacchus in the earlier work too. The narrative begins at a point where previous versions had ended (cf. the pluperfects in 545–6): even in the *Ars* and the *Met.* we follow the couple no further than their first embrace. **bene** ‘to good effect’, focalized through Ariadne’s eyes, could be read with *mutarat*, but is more pointed with *periuro* (on which see 473): the juxtaposition is strikingly paradoxical, and the notion will be repeated in her own words *utiliter nobis perfidus* in 464. **fila legenda**: poetic plural; cf. *Met.* 8.173 *filo ... relecto*, Prop. 4.4.42 *lecto stamine*, both evoking the textual existence of Ariadne’s thread, which can be ‘gathered up’, but also ‘read’. **sorte tori gaudens** echoes the description of Livia (511–12 n.) at Horace, *Carm.* 3.14.5, *unico gaudens mulier marito*. **quid flebam**: a pointed variation from the common *quid fles*? (Ursini cites *Am.* 3.6.57, *Ep.* 3.24, Prop. 2.20.1, among other passages): Ariadne reflects with self-awareness on her own past behaviour as recounted in multiple narratives; but at 469 she weeps again. **rustica**: the epithet is regularly applied by O. to those who are ‘artless’, ‘lacking in sophistication’ (esp. in sexual matters), e.g. *Am.* 2.8.3 (Cypassis) *mihi iucundo non rustica cognita furto*, 3.1.43 (Venus would be ‘rustic’ without the help of Elegia), 3.4.37 *rusticus est nimium quem laedit adultera coniunx*, *Ep.* 16.287 *nimium simplex Helene, ne rustica dicam*; see further Armstrong 2006: 252, 266. A reader may wonder how far the epithet might apply to Ariadne’s behaviour in the rest of the passage: have her complaints become more sophisticated? **perfidus ille** alludes not only to Ariadne’s words at *Ars* 1.536 *perfidus ille abiit* (cf. 473), but also to Virg. *Ecl.* 8.91 and *Aen.* 4.421, in both of which a wife complains about her abandonment by a husband: in the latter case Dido is addressing her sister Anna, whose story will be told at 559–656, a version of the journeys of Aeneas told with different names (cf. 476).

**465–70 interea**: the narrative takes an unpredictable turn: here the cataracterism will be not a celebration of eternal unity, but a response to a period of marital disharmony. This reflects a mythological imbalance: Bacchus has further adventures, Ariadne a future that leads nowhere new (469 n.). **Liber**: 414 n. The use of this name for Bacchus will be important at the end of the story; it also perhaps hints at the sexual ‘freedom’ the

god apparently indulges in: cf. *Ep.* 17.154 *est data libertas, quod Menelaus abest*, and McKeown on *Am.* 2.2.15. **depexos crinibus**: the ethnographical detail can be explained by reference to Curtius' description of the Indians, 8.9.22 *capillum pectunt saepius quam tondent*, and Nonnus, *Dion.* 26.153-7, where the shaving of a warrior's head by a tyrannous king is described as a 'bitter insult among the Indians'. They are implicitly contrasted with Ariadne's unkempt state (470). For the ablative of respect, cf. Columella 10.188 *punica depexa coma, sed lactea crure est*, describing a cabbage, something unlikely to be literally 'combed', so Bergk 1884: 662 suggested the gloss *prolixa* ('luxuriant'). **Indos | uincit**: Bacchus' triumph over the east will return as a theme for the Liberalia (719-32). He is already associated strongly with the Orient in Euripides' *Bacchae* (e.g. 13-19), but the importance of 'India' may stem from the fame of Alexander's return as a conqueror: see 767 n., Frazer and Bömer here. At *Ars* 1.550 he turns up on Dia with tigers pulling his chariot. **Eoo ... ab orbe** 'from the sphere of the dawn' (*OLD orbis* 13). **diues ... redit** casts Bacchus in the role of a Roman general, returning triumphant and enriched (as at 719-32). For the stress on such wealth as the aim of campaigns against the *Indi*, cf. Prop. 3.4.1-3. In context *redit* implies that Ariadne does not accompany the god on his travels, but waits at home, like Penelope, Clytemestra, or the Deianira of *Ep.* 9, and Roman matrons such as Livia (cf. Horace, *Carm.* 3.14, as in 463) and Arethusa in Propertius 4.3. **facie praestante**: the enclosure of the ablative of description by *inter captiuas ... puellas* implies that all the captive women are beautiful – but the princess still stands out, like Cassandra among the Trojan Women in Seneca, *Agamemnon* 586-8. The story (not known from elsewhere) is also based on that of Iole, especially as told in *Ep.* 9.121-30, where Deianira calls her *paelex* (cf. 493) and *captiua*, and describes her as parading through the city proudly, well-dressed, *nec ... incultis captarum more capillis* (125): it is Ariadne here who takes on the role of the captive, distressed and with hair unkempt (469-70). **flebat**: the characteristic action of the betrayed woman (cf. 463), the elegiac lover – and also the epic hero: we first see Odysseus (*Od.* 5.82-4) in tears, and on the seashore, as is Achilles when, weeping, he retires from his companions at *Iliad* 1.348-50 after Agamemnon has taken Briseis from him. O. has used the form already of Ariadne at *Ars* 1.533 *clamabat, flebatque simul, sed utrumque decebat* (she perhaps remembers how effective her earlier tears were); *clamabat* will be echoed in 475. **amans coniunx**: both words are important: the noun formalizes the relationship as marriage; the participle allies Ariadne with elegiac speakers, and implies that she is more like Penelope or Arethusa than Clytemestra or the Ariadne who calls on the Furies and seeks vengeance on Theseus at the end of her Catullan speech (64.188-201). **litore curuo**: a detail of no consequence for

the narrative, but loaded with intertextual significance (cf. also 603). The line ending echoes *Aen.* 3.16, 223, and thus reinforces the epic credentials of this typically elegiac scene. In wall-paintings and in the narratives of her abandonment by Theseus Ariadne is repeatedly on the shoreline: Cat. 64.52 *litore Diae*, 133 *deserto liquisti in litore*, Prop. 1.3.2 *desertis Cnosia litoribus*, Ovid, *Met.* 8.175–6 *crudelis in illo | litore destituit*. At *Ep.* 10.18 *quod uideant oculi, nil nisi litus habent*, O. has her comment on her limited horizons; and here again we find that, despite her marriage to Bacchus, she cannot escape. **incultis ... comis**: cf. Ariadne's description of her behaviour at *Ep.* 10.47–8 *diffusus erravi sola capillis, | qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo* [i.e. Bacchus]: the allusion makes it ambiguous whether Ariadne's hair is normally loose, as leader of the Bacchantes, or whether she has loosened it as a sign of woe (as at *Ep.* 10.137 *demissos lugentis more capillos*). At *Ep.* 10.16 and *Ars* 1.530 her hair is loose because she has risen straight from her bed; at Cat. 64.63 she loses her *mitra*.

**471–6 en iterum**: the speech begins with a reference to repetition (cf. *iamque iterum tundens mollissima pectora palmis* at *Ars* 1.535), and in a phrase that will itself be repeated in the next line. **fluctus ... harena**: Ariadne addresses the two elements that define her habitual position, and thus stresses the absence of people and the apparent futility of her lament: both words feature early in Catullus' description of the coverlet, at 64.57 *desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena* (recalled already at *Ars* 1.527 *Cnosia in ignotis ... harenis*), and 67, where the *fluctus salis* play with her discarded clothes. Moreover, *fluctus* and *fluctuare* are used by Catullus to express Ariadne's emotional state (64.62 *magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, 64.97–8 *qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam | fluctibus*), thus bringing out the significance of the iconography. **similes audite querelas**: the same noun is used to describe Ariadne's soliloquy at Cat. 64.130 and 195; and at *Met.* 8.176 (where she is given no soliloquy) her plight before Bacchus rescues her is summed up with the brilliantly brief phrase *desertae et multa querenti* (cf. *querentis*, 507). The line ending repeats Catullus 64.195 *huc huc aduentate, meas audite querelas*, but that is addressed to the Eumenides, asking them to make Theseus forgetfully *funestet seque suosque* (201), whereas Ariadne here does not curse Bacchus: her speech is both similar and different. *querelae* also evokes elegy more generally: in Horace's formulation (*Ars poetica* 75) the elegiac couplet is used for *querimonia*, e.g., and O. himself has *queri* referring to his heroines' complaints in eleven of the fifteen single epistles, including programmatic examples in 2.2, 3.5–6, 5.4, 9.2. **lacrimas accipe, harena**: an ironic request given that the thirst of sand is a byword for insatiability (cf. the phrase *bibula(e) harena(e)* at *Ep.* 19.201, *Met.* 13.901, *Lucr.* 2.376, *Virg. Geo.* 1.114, *bibulum litus* at *Am.* 2.11.14, *Ep.* 17.139). **memini**: Ariadne remembers what

she has said about Theseus in her own past, but also (if not precisely) in past texts; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.52 *cantando puerum meminisse me condere soles*, where Moeris' memory also recalls the words of Callimachus: *Epig.* 2.2–3 similarly remembers 'burying the sun' in recalling the epigrammatist Heraclitus. Hinds 1998: 3–4 explores the covert 'signposting of reflexive annotation', and points out that memory is very much at issue in Catullus 64, where Theseus is *immemor* (58, 117, 135, 248) and is punished by failing to remember the instructions his father has given about changing his sails (228–37). **periure et perfide**: the epithets, with their repeated prefix, reprise words already used of Theseus in 461, 464, as well as at *Am.* 1.7.15, *Ep.* 10.76, and *Ep.* 4.59, *Ars* 1.536 respectively. The Catullian heroine twice calls Theseus *perfide* (64.132–3; cf. also 174; Wills 1996: 138, 438), and talks of *periuria* at 64.135, 148. **ille abiit** repeats *Ars* 1.536 (464 n.), and the repetition of the same words is immediately glossed by *eadem*. For the scansion -iit, cf. 333. **nunc quoque ... clamabo**: she self-consciously repeats her own report of her cry at *Ep.* 10.21 *interea toto clamaui in litore, Theseu*, itself echoed at 10.35 *quo fugis, exclamo, scelerate reuertere Theseu?* and *Ars* 1.531 *Thesea crudelem surdas clamabat ad undas*. Even the *nunc* reprises Cat. 64.143 (echoed in the rest of the line). **nulla uiro ... femina credat**: a full and precise repetition of Catullus 64.143 *nunc iam nulla uiro iuranti femina credat*. **nomine mutato**: telling a story with changed names is a form of allegory; cf. Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.69–70: *mutato nomine de te | fabula narratur*, and Paris' account of his attempts to talk indirectly of his love for Helen at *Ep.* 16.243–5 *a quotiens aliquem narraui potus amorem ... indiciumque mei ficto sub nomine feci*. But this is not typical allegory, because only one name in the story has been changed. We may contrast what happens at Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.997–1108, where Jason uses Ariadne's story as a parallel to encourage Medea through its similarities to her situation, or in *Met.* 8.17–151 (a poem that *mutato* calls to mind), where Ariadne's desire for a stranger, giving of assistance, and subsequent abandonment are all transferred to Scylla and Minos. The next major narrative in this book will feature Anna, the sister of Dido, whose adventures are modelled on Aeneas', and to whose arrival Lavinia will react as Ariadne does to that of the Indian captive. **causa relata mea est** 'my case is brought back' (Nagle 1995 offers 'the defendant has changed but my grievance is the same') or 'my situation has been repeated'. *causa* also points to the context of the narrative, an 'aetiology' of the constellation that Ariadne or her garland are about to become (cf. 407 e.g.). *relata* once more brings out the repetitions to be found here. In fact her situation, and her attitudes, are rather different now (486 n.).

**477–80 o utinam**: in Catullus Ariadne wishes that Theseus had never come to Crete, beginning *utinam ne tempore primo | Cnosia Cecropiae*

*tetigissent litora puppes* (64.171–2); at *Ep.* 10.99 that Minos' son Androgeos had not been killed by Athenians. Here the wish is not to return to her original innocence, but for death (at *Ep.* 10.77 *me quoque ... mactasses*) – more precisely that her apparently terminal situation when abandoned on Naxos had worked out as she expected: the value of *tempore primo* / *primum* has changed with the passing of time. Ovid takes over the combination *o utinam* from Propertius and Tibullus; of his thirteen instances, eight are in the *Amores* or *Heroides*, others in erotic passages such as this and *Met.* 3.467 (*Narcissus*); for the hiatus see 485 n. **mea sors qua primum coeperat** **isset**: the expression is like Ovid's wish for his own death

at *Pont.* 3.7.20 *Parcaque ad extremum qua mea coepit eat*. **nulla** 'non-existent', *OLD* 4b; cf. e.g. *Met.* 11.579 *uiro, qui nullus erat* (Alcyone prays for Ceyx, 'her husband, who was no more'). There is perhaps an allusion to *nullus erat*, repeated in *Ep.* 10.11–12 (Theseus 'was not present' when Ariadne awoke). **desertis ... harenis**: 471–2 nn. **morituram**: as

at *Ep.* 10.119, followed by reflections on her unmourned and unburied corpse. Death is already seen as imminent by Ariadne at *Cat.* 64.152–3 and 187–91. But there is a relevant ambiguity too: why should a god save a woman he loves if she remains mortal, and thus fated to die? There is an implicit request for immortality here, which will return at the end of the speech. **seruabas**: a striking use of the imperfect where preterite might have been expected. Murgatroyd 2005: 266, n. 82 suggests that, as with *dicebam* (473), there is a 'continuous force' which evokes the prior versions. Moreover, in *Cat.* 64, and any picture of Bacchus and Ariadne on the beach, the rescue is a never-ending process. The tense also establishes a strong contrast with the rest of the line. **potui dedoluisse semel** 'I

could have finished feeling pain once and for all': it is a fine touch, after all the repetitions, that Ariadne uses a novel expression to mention the possibility of a single moment ending all grief. The verb is a rare one, first extant at *Rem.* 294 of the admirable prisoner (= lover) who has broken his own bonds 'and ended his pain in a single moment' (*dedoluitque semel*).

**481–6 leuis leuiorque tuis ... frondibus** 'fickle one, and lighter than your leaves'. As often the comparative plays with a shift to physical lightness: cf. *Am.* 2.16.45 *uerba puellarum, foliis leuiora caducis*; *Ep.* 5.109 (Oenone to Paris) *tu leuior foliis*. A personal edge is given to the comparison when Ariadne specifies ivy, Bacchus' own plant (767, 6.483 *Bacche racemiferos hedera distincte capillos*); cf. the comparison of Cupid to his wings at *Am.* 2.9.49 *tu leuis es multoque tuis uentosior alis*. Mention of Bacchus' garland may briefly remind us of Ariadne's – the reason for the narrative. **in lacrimas cognite Bacche meas** 'Bacchus known, to my tearful distress'. *in* indicates result: knowing Bacchus has made her cry. **ausus es ... sollicitare torum**: the shape of the couplet matches *Ep.* 17.3–4 *ausus*

*es hospitii temeratis aduena sacris* | *legitimam nuptae sollicitare fidem*, where Helen is pretending to be outraged at Paris' letter. Cf. also Cephalus' decision to impersonate an adulterous lover of his wife Procris at *Met.* 7.720-1 *pudicam* | *sollicitare fidem*; and, most pointedly, Ovid's denial that he could have taught *furta*, of which he knew nothing, in the *Artes*, which (as he writes to Augustus) *ratus es uetitos sollicitare toros* (*Tristia* 2.346), and his assertion of Cupid's knowledge of his innocence at *Pont.* 3.3.49-50 *scis ...* | *non me legitimos sollicitasse toros*. Bacchus is thus associated with the adulterous Paris and quasi-adulterous Cephalus, and contrasted with the upright Ovid. **paelice**: 467 n. **bene compositum**: cf. *Ar.* 2.385 *hoc bene compositos, hoc firmos soluit amores*, where the lover is being warned about the disastrous effect of visible infidelity. **heu ubi pacta fides?** cf. Medea at *Ep.* 6.41 *heu ubi pacta fides? ubi conubialia iura ...* Ariadne has been presented as a model for her in the *Argonautica* (476 n.); Medea in turn becomes a model for Ariadne (as she is in *Cat.* 64). Similar too is Arethusa's complaint about her perennially absent husband at *Prop.* 4.3.11 *haecne marita fides et pacta haec foedera nobis*. The Augustan poets allow hiatus after exclamations, and Ovid has the combination *heu ubi* in four places (including *Ep.* 6.41) besides this. **quae iurare solebas**: in *Cat.* 64.132-48 she harps on Theseus' breaking his sworn promises (using the verb *iurare* in 143, 146, a detail O. picks up at *Ar.* 3.457 *parcite, Cecropides, iuranti credere Theseo*). That soliloquy ends with Ariadne's curse on Theseus; here the phrasing recalls the advice O. gives on the importance of memory (*saepe refer tecum sceleratae facta puellae, Rem.* 299) to the reluctant lover at *Rem.* 303-4 *sic mihi iurauit, sic me iurata fefellit, | ante suas quotiens passa iacere fores*. **me miseram**: the programmatic elegiac utterance (Hinds 1998: 29-32), used by O. (in its masculine form) as soon as he is shot by Cupid's arrow (*Am.* 1.1.25), and on 35 later occasions in the elegiac corpus. Ariadne herself does not use the phrase elsewhere in extant poetry, though the epithet appears of her at least five times in *Cat.* 64, and at *Ep.* 10.24. **quotiens haec ego verba loquar?** O. has already played with multiplicity as a pointer to the repetitiveness of Ariadne narratives at *Ep.* 10.23 *quotiens ego te, totiens locus ipse uocabat*, referring to echoes from the cliffs. However, from this point on, the speech has far less repetition from her earlier monologues: whereas previously her prime concern was survival, her focus here will be on her own reputation, and that of her philandering husband.

**487-92 Thesea culpabas**: there is no scene in extant earlier poetry in which Bacchus and Ariadne discuss Theseus, but he does describe himself as *cura fidelior* ('more faithful than your beloved') at *Ar.* 1.555, and the development is plausible in itself: he concurs with her fault-finding. **fallacem**: Ariadne herself calls Theseus *fallax* at *Cat.* 64.151.



With *falli* to come in 490, this initiates the common elegiac pattern where a cognate of a word in a hexameter appears in the pentameter of the next couplet (p. 39). The repetition of *Thesea* (487, 491) and of the stem *culp-* (487, 492) then binds the next couplet into the sequence too. **iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo:** parataxis: the expected coherence of the couplet helps the reader to connect this to the hexameter despite the absence of any conjunction. O. repeatedly applies *turpis* and its adverbial forms to adultery and adulterers: *Ep.* 4.34, 5.70, 6.133, 9.20, 13.133, *Trist.* 2.515, e.g. Both *iudicium* and *peccare* are words he uses more frequently in the exile poetry (*peccare* six times in *Tristia* 2, for example, out of 65 in total, and *iudicium* thrice, out of 40); the attack on hypocrisy has particular weight coming from a man who knows that people who condemned him had committed adultery themselves. **ne sciat haec quisquam tacitis-que doloribus urar:** the paradoxical desire for silence in spoken and published texts appears again in Flora's wish about her involvement in the conception of Mars at 5.230 *Iuppiter hoc, ut adhuc, nesciat usque, precor*. Propertius 1.18 had explored the theme: the elegist seeks out *deserta loca et taciturna querenti* (1), and adds in verse 3 *hic licet occultos proferre impune dolores*. **ne ... puter:** Ariadne begins to play the part of the goddess, or grand matron, concerned as much about what people think of her as about the fidelity of her husband. **totiens** i.e. 'twice', but two instances are enough to establish a rule, especially in mythology (e.g. *Ep.* 5.132 *quae totiens raptā est, praeiūit ipsa rāpi*, of Helen, stolen by Theseus as well as by Paris): the number of tellings creates the illusion of multiple events. **celari Thesea** 'Theseus to be kept in the dark': for this use of accusative after *celare* see *OLD* 5. **ne te | consortem culpae gaudeat esse suae:** Theseus can already take pleasure in the distinction of having shared Ariadne with a god. She hopes that this not be extended to pleasure derived from the fact that both have been unfaithful to her.

**493–6 putō:** the regular pronunciation for O. (who uses the form where the second syllable has to be short or at the end of pentameters: Platnauer 1951: 51–2). The parenthesis marks the question as sarcastic: Ariadne is in fact fair (Hesiod, *Theog.* 947; Cat. 64.63; *Ars* 1.530), the Indian *paelex* dark. For such a contrast, cf. *Ep.* 15.35–6 *candida si non sum, placuit Cephēia Perseo | Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae*, Virg. *Ecl.* 2.16, where Corydon wishes he loved the sunburnt Menalcas rather than the house-slave Alexis, *quamuis ille niger, quamuis tu candidus esses*. **eueniat nostris hostibus ille color:** she arrogantly supposes her white complexion is superior, and even when she immediately realizes that her self-confidence is in this case misplaced, she still refers to the rival's colour as a *uitium*. O. follows Prop. 3.8.20 *hostibus eueniat lenta* [i.e. unemotional] *puella meis* in using such phrasing to express strong disapprobation: *Am.*

2.10.16-17 (*uita seuera* and *uiduo dormire cubili*), 3.11.16 (seen as especially significant by Murgatroyd 2005: 267), *Ars* 3.247, *Pont.* 4.6.35, *Ep.* 16.219. **uitio ... gratior:** cf. *Am.* 2.4.40 *est etiam in fusco grata colore Venus*; *Am.* 3.1.10 *pedibus uitium causa decoris erat* (Elegia naturally has one leg longer than the other); *Ars* 3.295 *in uitio decor est* (an artfully assumed defect of speech). **amplexus inquinat illa tuos:** on one level a fanciful notion that Bacchus' pale skin will be stained by contact with the Indian; on another the anxiety that her own relationship with the god will be metaphorically besmirched by his affair.

**497-500 praefer amoribus ullam | coniugis:** similarly expressed is Polyphemus' question for Galatea, *Met.* 13.860-1 *cur ... | Acin amas praefersque meis complexibus Acin?* **adsueui semper amare uirum:** *semper* points to Ariadne's immortality, but the context 'undermines this assertion of everlasting love for Bacchus. ... Has she stopped loving Theseus, who was her first *uir*? And if she no longer loves Theseus, whom she thought she would love forever, is she not just as guilty of a kind of fickleness as the men?' (Armstrong 2006: 257). **ceperunt ... cornua:** Pasiphae, Ariadne's mother, was punished for Minos' failure to sacrifice a bull and made to fall in love with it: Euripides, *Cretans* (esp. fr. 472e). Virgil describes her desire at *Ecl.* 6.45-60, adding its result, the birth of the Minotaur, at *Aen.* 6.24-30; Ovid uses her lust as a supposedly encouraging *exemplum* at *Ars* 1.289-326: see Armstrong 2006: 71-93. The horns stand by synecdoche for the bull, and provide a point of connexion with Bacchus, regularly equipped with horns by the poets: 789, *Am.* 3.15.17 *corniger*, *Ars* 1.232, 3.348 *insignis cornu*; Eur. *Bacch.* 100, Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.29-30 *aureo cornu decorum*, Tib. 2.1.3, Prop. 3.17.19; he is certainly the god to appeal to Europa's grand-daughter. O. has his Phaedra point out in similar terms the erotic susceptibility she shares with Ariadne: *Ep.* 4.64 *me tua forma capit, capta parente soror*. **me tua; at hic laudi est:** a brilliant conjecture by the great Ovidian editor, Nicolas Heinsius, where the three oldest MSS have *me* followed by nonsense: *uiat et laedit* (A), *iuuat et ledit* (U), *tua me laudant* (G). *me tua* concisely matches *matrem formosi cornua tauri*; *hic* produces the necessary balance with *ille, laudi* (predicative dative: 'a source of praise') with *pudendus*. *at* and *est* complete the sense, preserve details within the tradition, and produce a scanning verse.

**501-6 ne noceat quod amo:** confessing her love for her husband may make her seem dependent and therefore vulnerable: if love is a game, it is he who has won – and he might now be tempted to continue to neglect her. *ne noceat* is picked up by *neque ... nocebat* to bring out Ariadne's hopes that their love remains mutual, and mutuality continues as the theme of her rhetoric as she moves on to the imagery of fire. **flammas nobis fassus es:** though he does not explicitly do this in the extant models, he

is introduced at Cat. 64.253 with the words *te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore*, as if he speaks to her. **nec ... mirum facis** 'you're not performing a miracle' (Wiseman & Wiseman); ironically the following justification is based on an incredible event. The language is comic: cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 1044 *tuus est, non mirum facis* (in feeling sorry for your son), *Capt.* 582 *non mirum facis* (in wanting everyone to be as miserable as you), *Persa* 688 *quando leno est, nil mirum facit*, Terence, *Hecyra* 709 *non mirum fecit uxor*; cf. also Vitruvius 1.1.14 (of the architect who is accomplished in the full range of necessary skills) *quemadmodum potest ... non id ipsum mirum et magnum facere?* **ortus in igne | diceris et patria raptus ab igne manu**: as *diceris* implies, this is a frequent tale of Bacchus' birth, rescued from the conflagration that Jupiter's divine splendour inflicts on his mother Semele, a story that Ovid touches on again at 715-18, though only to reject the episode, which instead appears in full at *Met.* 3.259-315. **tu solitus promittere caelum**: cf. Bacchus' words *munus habe caelum*, at *Ars* 1.557. The hyperbole ('you used to promise the heavens') here has a reality to it. Forgotten promises also figure prominently in Theseus' behaviour and in Ariadne's vituperation of him; cf. the stress on repetition also in 485 *quae iurare solebas*, as well as Cat. 64.59, 139-40 *at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti | uoce, Am.* 1.7.15. **pro caelo qualia dona fero**: instead of divinity, she receives infidelity, notoriety – and a slave girl whom she knows to be her rival. The speech ends with a final echo of Ariadne's soliloquy in Catullus 64: *talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia uita* (157).

**507-10 audibat**: O. uses this form of the imperfect also at *Ep.* 14.36 *audibam*; *audīēbam* does not scan in dactylic poetry. **iamdudum** accompanies imperfect for an action that continued to a moment in the past (where English would use 'had long been listening'): cf. *Met.* 3.656 *iamdudum flebam* (at the end of direct speech). **Liber**: the enjambment enhances the delay of the god's name, and the pleasure of the sudden revelation. The effect is (on a small scale) like the deferred announcement at Cat. 64.251-3, after 200 verses of concentration on Ariadne, that Bacchus is also on the coverlet, and approaching her, fired by love. **ut a tergo forte secutus erat**: again the text comments on the handling of the narrative: as usual the god appears after Ariadne, having listened to her words of complaint. But the reader may wonder about *forte*: is this chance (cf. 863)? or is she aware of his presence? From 479 she has been addressing him, and she ends with a suggested gift – the betrayed wife sees her husband's infidelity as the opportunity to get a special present. **occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant**: like Ariadne, Bacchus is repeating his earlier behaviour: *Ars* 1.561-2 *implicitamque sinu (neque enim pugnare ualebat) | abstulit*; *Met.* 8.177 *amplexus et opem Liber*

*tulit*. **pariter caeli summa petamus** ‘let us make for the heights of heaven together’; but *pariter* is stressed as his first word, and looks ahead to 511, carrying the fuller implication ‘as a matched pair’. Though he overwhelms her with his embrace and carries her up to heaven, he thus takes her out of the way; and he makes no attempt to answer her charges, leaving the implications of the narrator’s *grata nimis* (468) unchallenged.

**511–12 tu mihi iuncta toro, mihi iuncta uocabula sumes**: the repetition of *mihi iuncta* makes the phrasing look balanced, even though in the first phrase it is applied to *tu* and qualified by *toro*, and in the second to the object *uocabula*, which matches *toro* in its contribution to the sense: cf. Heyworth 1984: 402 for other examples of complex antithesis.

**Libera**: in her transformation Ariadne becomes not just the consort of Bacchus, but a recognizable member of the Roman pantheon, in time to be celebrated at the Liberalia (713–90 n.). The joint temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera stood on the northern slope of the Aventine, just above the starting gates of the Circus Maximus, according to Dion. Hal. 6.94.3, a passage that puts the dedication in 494 BC, the year of the secession of the *plebs*, with whom the temple was associated (Spaeth 1996: 81–102). However, it seems that there was no building between 31 BC, when it burned down (Dio Cassius 50.10.3), and AD 17, when according to Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.49.1 Tiberius at last dedicated the replacement: ‘a defining place of plebeian self-identification ... this important sanctuary remained both a ruin and a construction site throughout the Augustan period’ (DAR item 254: contrast Augustus’ claim at *R.G.* 20.4 to have restored all temples in need of repair in 28 BC). Libera was alternatively identified as the Roman equivalent to Persephone, daughter of Ceres (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.106, *D.N.D.* 2.62); but cf. also Hyginus’ list of those made immortal, at *Fab.* 224.2, *Ariadnen Liber pater Liberam appellauit, Minois et Pasiphaes filiam*. Moreover, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.99 *Liberum et Ariadnen spectatos Romae in aede Cereris* implies that Ariadne was identified with Libera within the temple; and the Ariadne-like female partner of Liber is called Libera in the description of a sculpture at *Nat. Hist.* 36.29 *Satyri quattuor, ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla uelatum umeris praefert, alter Liberam similiter*.

In the ascent to divinity, combined with a change of name to one like her husband’s, Libera bears an obvious similarity to Livia, whose godhead is predicted by Carmentis at 1.536 *Augusta nouum Iulia numen erit*. This analogy is all the more accessible because of earlier connexions between the two stories: Bacchus has been represented as a triumphant general returning as if to Rome from the East, in particular India (465–6; cf. e.g. Virg. *Geo.* 3.27, *Aen.* 8.705); Livia was given up by her first husband

Tiberius Claudius Nero so that she could marry Caesar, like Bacchus a man on his way to divinity; see also 463, 466 nn., and Koster 1994: 63 (who finds Livia behind Ariadne already at Horace, *Carm.* 2.19.13–14). Such reading leads to the imputation of adultery on the part of Augustus, and the notion that the conferring of the name Augusta was written into Augustus' will (Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.1) in order to keep Livia quiet about his philandering. Some of the language recalls that of Antony's letter about Augustus' sex life, as reported in Suetonius, *Aug.* 69.1 *dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam paelicis* (presumably Livia herself).

**513–16 sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae** 'I shall bring it about that your crown be a memorial along with you': for *monumenta* (poetic plural) without an expressed genitive, cf. e.g. 4.709 *factum abiit, monumenta manent*, *Trist.* 3.3.77–8 *maiora libelli | et diuturna magis sunt monumenta mihi*. Others take *coronae* as genitive ('there shall be a memorial of thy crown', Frazer); but the crown rather becomes the *monumentum* (the thing that gets pointed out and turned into a story), as Phineus will once Perseus shows Medusa's head to his gaze after promising *mansura dabo monumenta per aevum* at *Met.* 5.227. *tecum* implies that Ariadne is monumentalized along with her *corona*: see 460 n. The celebration of the garland is used at 5.345–6 to confirm Bacchus' love of flowers; the version at *Met.* 8.178 (cited below) has her wearing it when they meet, and the Rhodian poet Timachidas (c. 100 BC) had described 'Ariadne's garland' as made from the flower called 'Theseion' (*SH* 770). **Vulcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi**: a thought-provoking detail: why has Venus passed on a gift from her husband? Did she simply want to honour the new bride, or has the crown become a symbol of one failing marriage after another? For the postponement of *quam* to third position in its clause, cf. *qui* (518, 827), *quin* (135). **dicta facit**: he does what he promised in 510, but also long before in *Ars* 1.557–8; other promises are left undone. **gemmasque nouem ... per stellas ... nouem**: the repetition serves to confirm the reality of the transformation, and 'nine' presumably reflects the number identified by astronomical texts O. consulted, if not the number he saw with his own eyes (Titian painted eight, the number of main stars listed by modern astronomers). *gemmas* combines the image of the garland ('buds': cf. 5.345–6) with the story that it has been made by Vulcan ('gemstones'). **transformat in ignes**: for discussion of the catasterism see Armstrong 2006: 312–16. The transformation is mentioned by e.g. Jason, seducing Medea, at Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.1002–4, by Berenice's Lock at Callimachus fr. 110.59–60 and Cat. 66.59–61; at Aratus, *Phaen.* 71–2 and Horace, *Carm.* 2.19.13–14; as well as at *Ars* 1.557–8, and *Met.* 8.177–80:

utque perenni  
 sidere clara foret, sumptam de fronte coronam  
 immisit caelo: tenues uolat illa per auras  
 dumque uolat gemmae nitidos uertuntur in ignes.

### 517-22: the Second Equirria

The Equirria was a horse-racing festival, otherwise mentioned before late antiquity only in calendars and for its etymology: cf. Varro (whose MSS have an alternative spelling), *Ling. Lat.* 6.13 *Ecurria ab equorum cursu: eo die enim ludis currunt in Martio campo*; Festus 71.15-16 Lindsay *Equirria ludi quos Romulus Marti instituit per equorum cursum, qui in campo Marti exercebantur*; Ausonius 14.16.27-8 *nunc etiam ueteres celebrantur Equirria ludi: | prima haec Romanus nomina circus [campus?] habet*. Though Varro speaks of a single day, the inscribed Fasti list *Equirria* not only for 14th March, but also for 27th February, as does Ovid himself (2.857-62):

iamque duae restant noctes de mense secundo,  
 Marsque citos iunctis curribus urget equos.  
 ex uero positum permansit Equirria nomen,  
 quae deus in campo prospicit ipse suo. 860  
 iure uenis, Gradiue: locum tua tempora poscunt  
 signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest.

That passage plays on the etymology of *Equirria* (see Robinson on 2.858-9, noting that 858 implies chariot racing) and stresses the involvement of Mars, whose own month is imminent (delayed only by a single couplet, 863-4, in which O. announces the arrival of book and month 'in port'), and on whose field (the Campus Martius, 860) the racing takes place. There is thus a marked contrast in the passage on the Second Equirria: though the *Fasti Vaticanani* specify 14th March as *FERIAE MARTI*, O. makes no mention of Mars here – the envisaged spectator is not the god (as at 2.860), but the reader (*spectabis*, 519), and even the Campus is in danger of being flooded and replaced as the venue (521-2). The lines thus contribute to the sense that Mars has been elided from his own month (see p. 23). The timing of the two Equirria suggests that the festival may have been intended to mark the end of the year, before the start of the new one, whether that was seen as coming on the Kalends of March or the Ides, the day of Anna Perenna.

**sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbes:** strict counting of six dawns and sunsets from the night of 8th March will take us to the 15th, whereas the Equirria takes place before the Ides (523), on the 14th, as four inscribed calendars also indicate (*Antiaties Maiores*, *Esquilini*, *Maffeiani*, *Vaticani*). But the sequence has begun at night, and ends with the day of the Equirria, so it is

clear that the count is not a strict one here: O., as often, reckons inclusively, and we need not argue back from this couplet to place the evening rising of the Cretan Crown on 7th March.

**purpureum rapido qui uehit axe diem** ‘who transports bright day on his swift chariot’. The couplet presents the sun as the god who drives the chariot, the sphere that rises and sets each day (*orbes*), and day itself. The pentameter reuses, with typical changes, *Ep.* 4.160 *purpureo tepidum qui mouet axe diem* (Phaedra vaunts her grandfather, the sun); O. also applies *purpureus* to the sun at 2.74 *purpureis cum iuga demet equis*, *Ep.* 21.86; cf. too 6.252 *purpurea luce*, *Tristia* 1.2.27 *purpureo ... Eurys ab ortu*; *OLD* 3a. *rapido axe* glosses the swift passing of six days in the hexameter.

**altera gramineo spectabis Equirria campo**: the centre-piece of the sentence is a ‘golden’ line (Wilkinson 1963: 215–16), set in contrast to the disorderly phrasing that surrounds (notably the postponed conjunctions in 518 and 521). *altera ... Equirria* serves as a cross-reference to 2.857–62.

**quem Tiberis curuis in latus urget aquis** ‘that the Tiber confines with its waters curving onto the flank’: the circumlocution defines the Campus Martius without naming the god. Mention of the river leads on to the flooding of the next couplet, and establishes a link with the next episode (524, but also 647–54).

**qui tamen eiecta si forte tenebitur unda,| Caelius accipiet puluerulentus equos**: an elegiac exposition of the information provided by Festus 117.25–7 Lindsay *Martialis Campus in Caelio monte dicitur, quod in eo Equirria solebant fieri, si quando aquae Tiberis campum Martium occupassent*. *puluerulentus* brings out the contrast between the dry plateau of the Caelian hill (*DAR* 326 suggests the *Campus Martialis* was in the vicinity of the present-day piazza of S. Giovanni in Laterano) and the grassy Campus, always prone to flooding (519–20). For *si* postponed to fourth (or later) position in its clause, cf. e.g. 183, *Ars* 1.149, 3.759 (such ordering is commoner in the pentameter and in exile poetry).

### 523–696: Anna Perenna

March 15th is the most famous Roman date in the modern world, because of Shakespeare’s repeated ‘Beware the Ides of March’ (*Julius Caesar* I.ii.20, 21, 25; cf. III.i.1, and Suetonius, *D.J.* 81); the *Fasti* will turn eventually to the assassination (697–710), but first Ovid gives a long account of the rites of Anna Perenna (and their origin) – this is what will have engaged much of Rome’s population on that fateful day in 44 BC (Horsfall 1974: 196–7), and in years before and after.

Various pieces of evidence, here and elsewhere, present Anna as a deity of the year (145–6; 531–4; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.5–6, cited on 135–50), of flowing water (653–4; and the inscriptions mentioned below), of food (659–74), of fertility (Martial 4.64.16–17; Wiseman 2006: 59–61), and of magic (Polakova and Rapinesi in Piranomonte 2002: 38–52). O. reflects this variety, in part by giving a series of different accounts of the

goddess's identity (543-674). Though her cult was an established part of the calendar, and thus sanctioned by the state, O. says nothing about formal rites, but emphasizes the popular participation in the day (523-42) and the obscene entertainment enjoyed by the crowds (675-96). Small fragments survive of a mime by Decius Laberius entitled *Anna Perenna* (Panayotakis 2010: 115-23), and it is possible both that the day's performances (535-42) included mimes, at least in some years (Wiseman 2006: 55-9), and that the absurd episode at 675-96 draws its plot from Laberius (Littlewood 1980: 316; Wiseman 1998: 72-4); the name is also referred to by Varro, *Men.* fr. 506. (There is an imminent volume of essays on Anna: McIntyre & McCallum 2018.)

A number of features associate Ovid's account of the festival with wider themes of the month and the book: spring; drunkenness (765-6); the rivers of Latium and their banks (11-40, 51-2, 519-21), *liba* (670; cf. 725-70); and the story of Anna the sister of Dido (545-656) matches Ariadne (459-516) as another sequel to a classic tale of love, as well as in some details (603-4, 635, 645-50 nn.).

#### 523-42: Anna Perenna: popular celebration

On the Ides of March (in the original lunar calendar, the first full moon of the year) the rites of Anna Perenna are celebrated on the grass close to the Tiber. The cult centre was by the first milepost on the Via Flaminia: the *Fasti Vatican*i (dated between AD 15 and 37) records *FERIAE ANNAE PERENNAE VIA FLAM AD LAPIDEM PRIM.* The drunken picnic O. goes on to describe was thus held at the northern end of the Campus Martius, close to where the Mausoleum of Augustus had been built in the 20s (Virg. *Aen.* 6.872-4, Cassius Dio 53.30.5). An ancient fountain with dedications to Anna Perenna and *nymphis sacratis* was uncovered in 2000 during the construction of an underground car-park much further north, near piazza Euclide (Piranomonte 2002). This is apparently a replacement shrine with a natal date of 18th June (*Fasti Filocali*), established in the mid first century AD, mentioned at Martial 4.64.16-17 (Wiseman 2006; Heyworth 2011: 46-50).

The passage is one of several in the poem that stress the relaxed fun of Roman religion: for emphasis on drunken partying (sometimes including song or dance or sex) cf. 4.139-50, 4.353-4, 5.331-54, 6.407-8, and especially 6.775-80 (Fors Fortuna also has her shrine on the banks of the Tiber, away from the city). The playful tone here, which returns in 675-96, makes for a strong contrast with the passage on the assassination (see e.g. Barchiesi 1997a: 123-30, Pfaff-Reydellet 2002).

**523-6 Idibus:** each book specifies what happens on the Ides of the month, 1.56 having announced the regular sacrifice to Jupiter (*Idibus alba*



*Ioui grandior agna cadit*). **geniale**: 58 n. **haud procul**: though O. does not use *haud* in elegiacs published before his exile, it does appear at *Tristia* 1.3.73, and frequently in the *Met.*, notably in the phrase *haud procul* at 5.385, 7.243, 8.624. A-W-C (and other editors) print *non* here (with some MSS), but that may well be the substitution. **a ripis, aduena Thybri, tuis**: for a second day running the spring grass of the Campus Martius hosts ritual events, and the text creates a continuity by stressing the proximity of the Tiber in each case. For the use of an alternative form of the river's name so soon after 520, cf. 5.635–41, Virg. *Aen.* 8.31/64, Martial 10.85.1/4, and in general Hopkinson 1982. *advena* is used as an epithet for the Tiber already at Prop. 4.1.8 *Tiberis nostris aduena murus erat*, echoed by O. also at 2.68. Here he may wish to remind the reader that Rome is a city of immigrants (as the first action for Anna Perenna brings out): even the river that runs past can be thought of as travelling from Etruria. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012: 200–2 argues that the theme fits the marginal moment in the calendar, as the new year begins. **plebs** 'common folk', but looking ahead to the action that involves the secession of the *plebs* (663–74). **uirides passim disiecta per herbas**: after reaching the area the crowd scatters across the verdant grass of the spring meadow and finds a place to relax (no sign of floods now). *disiectus* normally implies violent separation, which is not relevant here, but in two passages it describes buildings that are spread widely apart: Hirtius, *Gall.* 8.10.3 *raris disiectisque ex aedificiis*; Livy 24.2.9 *in uasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis*. There are similar scenes in Tibullus' description of the Parilia (2.5.95 *operata deo pubes discumbet in herba*), Virgil's of a festival for Bacchus (*Geo.* 2.527–9 *fususque per herbam, | ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant, | te libans, Linaee, uocat*), and Lucretius' of the primitive groups who invented music (5.1392–3 *prostrati in gramine molli | propter aquae riuum*; cf. 537 n.). **potat**: they drink to get drunk (cf. 539, 542). **accumbit cum pare quisque sua**: *accumbit* evokes the symposium (*Am.* 1.4.16), but the togetherness of the couples implies sexual activity too (so *cum pare* at 3.193, 4.98).

**527–30 sub Ioue** 'under the open sky', a phrase O. uses nine times, sometimes in this sense (e.g. 4.505), sometimes (e.g. 2.138) meaning 'under the rule of Jupiter', while in the punning instance at *Met.* 3.363 the nymphs are physically 'under Jupiter', i.e. having sex with him. The phrase may bring out the hardness of rustics (*Ars* 1.726) or primitive man (2.299 *sub Ioue durabant et corpora nuda gerebant*); most relevant here is *Ars* 2.621–4 (the culmination of a passage on the human preference for privacy and shade when seeking sexual pleasure):

tum quoque, cum solem nondum prohibebat et imbrem  
tegula, sed quercus tecta cibumque dabat,

in nemore atque antris, non sub Ioue, iuncta uoluptas;  
tanta rudi populo cura pudoris erat.

Even in the Golden Age lovers sought woods or caves; after the sexual implications of 526, the passing echo hints at why, in the remainder of this couplet and the next, some worshippers of Anna Perenna carefully provide themselves with cover: tents, and shelters constructed from leafy branches (cf. Tib. 2.1.24 *ex uirgis exstruet arte casas*; *Peruigilium Veneris* 5–6 *cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum* | *implicat casas uirentes de flagello myrteo*; Festus 519.1–2 Lindsay *umbrae uocabantur Neptunalibus casae frondeae pro tabernaculis*) or reed stems and togas (cf. Tib. 2.5.97 *e ueste sua tendent umbracula*). **pars durat** ‘some of them endure’, but, as Miller points out (1991: 137; n. 100 cites 2.346 *cornu durius inguen erat*), there is sexual innuendo here – the relevant part hardens (*OLD* *pars* 6a, *duro* 3). **pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis**: Tronchet 2014 §46 notes the similarity to Vitruvius’ description of modern wall-painting (7.5.3): *pro columnis enim struuntur calami*, which helps bring out the contrast between these impromptu constructions and grand buildings such as the nearby Mausoleum or further south on the Campus Martius. **rigidis ... togas**: two words that maintain the sexual implications of the passage. For *rigidus*, cf. 1.391 *rigido custodi ruris* (Priapus), Cat. 56.7, *Priap.* 4.1, 45.1. *togas* might be taken as a sign that at least a section of the Roman *plebs* has dressed formally for this holiday; but the toga was also worn by prostitutes: *OLD* *toga* 2c, Gowers on Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.62–3, Wiseman 1998: 68–9.

**531–4 sole tamen uinoque calent**: despite the construction of shades, the sun and the wine make them hot, thus perhaps contributing to sexual desire, a frequent implication of *calere* and its cognates (e.g. 2.307, *Ars* 1.526, 3.571, *Met.* 3.371–2, *Ep.* 18.90, 177). *sole* contributes to the sense that this drunken picnic is a celebration of the arrival of spring. **annosque precantur | quot sumant cyathos** ‘they pray for as many years as they take ladles’, i.e. of wine: words of the prayer are put in indirect speech, hence the subjunctive *sumant*. *cyathi* (originally a Greek word, but frequent already in Plautus and the agricultural manual of the Elder Cato) were used as measures, especially for wine at symposia: Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.13–14 *sume, Maecenas, cyathos ... centum*; 3.19.12, 14; Prop. 4.8.37. **ad numerumque bibunt** ‘and they drink to reach a good number’ (*OLD* *ad* 43, 46, *numerus* 8), but there is a play on the common sense of *ad numerum*, ‘in rhythm’ (*OLD* *numerus* 13c). **qui Nestoris ebibat annos** ‘such a man as drinks down the years of Nestor’: *ebibat* is generic subjunctive (as is *sit ... facta* in 534), and *annos* exploits the equivalence set up in the previous couplet between ‘years’ and ‘ladles’.

Nestor is presented as old already in the *Iliad*, ruling over the third generation (1.250–2); *nunc tertia uiuitur aetas* he says at *Met.* 12.188. Latin poets therefore use him as an example of longevity: *Pont.* 1.4.10, *Prop.* 2.13.46–7, 2.25.10, [*Tib.*] 3.7.50–1. **Sibylla:** at *Met.* 14.131–53 as they return up the steep path from the underworld, the Cumaean Sibyl tells Aeneas how she got Apollo to give her a year's life for every grain of sand in a pile (but forgot to ask for youth too); she has already lived seven *saecula* (14.144). She too became a symbol of long life (*Pont.* 2.8.41, along with Nestor; *Prop.* 2.24.33). There is an underlying joke here: old women were traditionally bibulous (765–6).

**535–8 cantant quidquid didicere theatris:** the importance of theatres in the life of young men and women in Ovid's era is shown by *Ars* 1.89–100: like a column of ants or bees in flowering pasture, *sic ruit ad celebres cultissima femina ludos* (97). In book 3 he encourages his female readers to make use of what they hear (*Ars* 3.315–17): *res est blanda canor: discant cantare puellae: | pro facie multis uox sua lena fuit. | et modo marmoreis referant audita theatris*. And male readers have been encouraged to sing too, if they are good at it, and likewise to dance: *Ars* 1.595 *si uox est, canta; si mollia bracchia, salta*. **iactant faciles ad sua uerba manus:** dancing is another skill that both book 1 (as cited) and book 3 of the *Ars Amatoria* commend, in the latter case especially as an accompaniment to wine (349–51): *quis dubitet quin scire uelim saltare puellam, | ut moueat posito bracchia iussa mero? | artifices lateris, scaenae spectacula, amantur*. The passage from 527 on thus illustrates a more general truth about the *Fasti*: by telling the reader where and when rites and games take place O. provides the information that allows potential lovers to meet – the poem becomes an extension to the *Ars*; and here we see the lovers showing they have learnt the lessons of the earlier poem, both the male and the female books. For the phrasing cf. *Prop.* 4.8.42 (on the dwarf dancing to the flute at his party) *iactabat truncas ad caua buxa manus*. **posito ... cratere:** cf. *Ars* 3.350 (cited above), *Prop.* 2.3.17 (of Cynthia) *posito formose saltat Iaccho*. **ducunt ... duras ... choreas:** cf. Lucretius 5.1401–2 *extra numerum procedere membra mouentes | duriter et duro terram pede pellere matrem*; Virg. *Geo.* 1.350 *det motus inkompositos*; Tib. 2.1.56 *inexpertia duxit ab arte choros*. As the elegiac mistress is given the pentameter, we may deduce that men are the perpetrators of the uncouth dancing of the hexameter. Alcohol informs their performance; compare 5.337–8 *ebrius ... | saltat, et imprudens utitur arte meri*, and Cicero, *Mur.* 13 *nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit*. **cultaque ... saltat amica:** for the first time in these four lines we have in *amica* an indication of gender. *cultus* is the educational goal of both the *Ars* (esp. 3, n.b. 101 *ordior a cultu*) and the *Medicamina* (n.b. 3–7); when celebrating

the rites of Anna Perenna even the sophisticated girlfriend is willing to let her hair down.

**539–42 cum redeunt:** after the day's drinking, they return home to the city, staggering drunkenly. **sunt spectacula uulgi:** though it is rare to find *spectaculum* with a subjective genitive when it means 'spectacle', Livy provides parallels at 30.45.4 *morte subtractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est* ('Syphax was removed by death rather from the spectacle to be enjoyed by the people than from the glory of the triumphator'), 37.59.2 *qui triumphus spectaculo oculorum maior quam Africani fratris eius fuit*, 39.43.4 *ad spectaculum scorti procacis, in sinu consulis recubantis, mactatam humanam uictimam esse*.

**fortunatos obuia turba uocat:** the evening passeggiata brings those who have not been present out to greet the returning celebrants. They congratulate them as 'lucky' because they have obviously had an enjoyable day – and established a stake with the gods for a long future. O. uses *fortunatus* only five other times (of which two are focalized, through the flattering words of Salmacis at *Met.* 4.323, and the twisted mind of Aglauros at *Met.* 2.803); the application of the epithet to the men of the Golden Age at 5.198 and *Met.* 15.98 and to the gods at *Pont.* 3.5.54 gives a good sense of how positive a force it can have. The spirit is that of a modern New Year's Night, with social norms broken down by a general, drunken good humour.

**occurrit nuper (uisa est mihi digna relatu) | pompa:** given the date, and the importance the parenthesis attributes to the procession, a reader might wonder whether *pompa* is here going to have its common sense of 'funeral procession' (*OLD* 1b), and imagine that the account of a joyous day is about to be overturned by reference to the events of 44 BC. But something quite different, and rather puzzling, will follow. Although *mihi* strictly belongs with *uisa est* rather than *occurrit*, implicitly this scene belongs to the list of ritual events recorded in the *Fasti* for which O. claims personal experience, such as the Parilia (4.725–8), the Robigalia (4.905–6), and the Vestalia (6.395–8). *relatu* is the ablative of the supine regularly used to complete the sense of adjectives (G&L §436).

**senem potum pota trahebat anus:** how can a procession be worthy of narration that consists simply of a drunken old woman dragging along a drunken old man? One possible answer is that it is funny, (a) because of the comic potential of the drunk (O. may have in mind a dramatic scene), and the essential absurdity of this quadrupling of the incapacity; and (b) because of the surprise – we are led to expect something significant, and read instead just five words, two of them parts of the same adjective. We may also wonder whether the two are actually old, or simply marked as having the potential to age because of the number of cups they have obviously drunk (i.e. are these Nestor and the Sibyl?). But there are also important hints here about the role and identity of Anna

Perenna, in whose honour the people have become inebriated. *haec dea* in the next line points the attentive reader in this direction; and Anna will later be identified as an old woman herself (668, 684). Alton 1920: 102–4 adduces Festus 281.4–6 Lindsay *Petreia uocabatur quae pompam praecedens in colonis aut municipiis imitabatur animum ebrium*; that increases the possibility that the *pompa* here is ritual, rather than just an accidental enactment given significance by O. But it does not explain the old man; he may, however, be identified with the goatskin-clad figure beaten with sticks on the Ides (see Bettini 2015: 154–9, with illustrations) and named Mamurius, according to Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.49. If Anna is playing her role as the goddess of the year (*annus*), hinted at through the use of *anus*, she drags out the old year (Mamurius Veturius: 383 n.) to herald the start of the new, on the Ides of the first month. The theme of the old woman and the scapegoat man reappears, with a sexual twist, in 675–96.

#### 543–674: Anna Perenna: the identity of the goddess

The identity of those deities who do not have obvious Greek equivalents is a source of rich material for the *Fasti*: hence the programmatic statement about Janus, 1.89–90 *quem tamen esse deum te dicam, Iane biformis? | nam tibi par nullum Graecia numen habet*. There O. has recourse to divine authority, as later e.g. when uncertain over the proper name of Sancus or Fidius or Semo at 6.213–14, and in the debates about the origin of the names of May (5.1–110) and June (6.1–100). Here, however, no divine instruction is sought; cf. 4.717–18, where he admits that it is impossible to know whether the constellation known as ‘Taurus’ is male or female, or 4.783–806, where he expounds an unresolved range of aetiologies to explain the rituals of the Parilia. The identity of Anna seems to have been particularly obscure: Silius introduces his account thus, at 8.44–5: *ambagibus aevi | obtegitur densa caligine mersa uetustas*. Besides the Carthaginian Anna, to whom by far the most space is given (545–656), O. mentions the moon, Themis, Io, an Arcadian nymph (657–60), and Anna of Bovillae (661–74).

**543–4 quae ... haec dea sit quoniam rumoribus errat** ‘since the identity of this goddess is uncertain in popular reports’: cf. *OLD* *erro* 3. For the placing of the whole causal clause after the indirect question that provides the subject for its verb, cf. the similar dislocations listed on 795. *errat* looks ahead to the wanderings of Dido’s sister (555, 605, 626, 655), but Anna wanders in other identities too – as the Moon, Io, Themis (657–8), and Anna from Bovillae, helping out on the Mons Sacer. **fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo** ‘no story is to be hidden in what I plan’: cf. 1.468 (to Carmentis) *propositoque faue, ne tuus erret honor*, 4.8 *tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus*.

**545–656:** Anna, the sister of Dido

The possibility that Anna Perenna might originally have been Dido's sister Anna gives the opportunity for a marvellous piece of invention, in which the consequences of Dido's death at the end of *Aeneid* 4 are followed through: 'a long and brilliant parody of the *Aeneid*' (Wiseman 2006: 58). Dido's city immediately disintegrates (and so does Virgil's aetiology of the Punic Wars). As an exile in search of a settled home, Anna undergoes experiences like those of her sister and of Aeneas (e.g. 565–6, 569); she survives storm and shipwreck, and, reaching Latium, she is left in need of the hospitality of her erstwhile guest. Both she and Aeneas recall Dido, whose ghost eventually appears to the sleeping Anna (like Sychaeus' or Hector's: 639–41), with advice which is designed to save Anna from the jealousy of Lavinia, but which succeeds only in driving her to a watery end in the river Numicius, whose nymph she becomes, to general rejoicing. Some scholars have assumed the connexion was Ovid's invention, but Wright 2018 points to signs in the *Aeneid* that Virgil is aware of the deity Anna will become (e.g. the acrostich *ades* at 4.634–7, lines in which she is associated with *fluuiali ... lympa*).

Like the Ariadne story this is a self-aware sequel, engaging in insightful reading of the *Aeneid* (545–6, 556, 597, 601–4), and recalling Ovid's own Dido letter (*Ep.* 7: cf. 549–50) and *Met.* 14 (546, 581–4, 599–604, 647–8): it too marks its imitation with reference to, and evocation of, repetition (545–6, 554, 563, 613) and memory (553, 612, 623); for detailed exploration see Döpp 1968: 56–76; McKeown 1984: 171; Porte 1985: 144–8; Brugnoli 1991; Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 955–8; Murgatroyd 2005: 105–6, 114–15, 121–31; Tronchet 2014; Chiu 2016: 72–86. It has a sequel itself, at Silius 8.27–231, where the goddess, with Juno's encouragement, appears to Hannibal; the poet took the opportunity to revisit the story of Dido's death, and Anna's migration (8.50–75) and apotheosis. Unfortunately the second half of the story has been lost: 8.144–223 are a sixteenth-century attempt to fill the lacuna (unwisely treated as authentic by Tilly 1936, Littlewood 1980, Wiseman 2006), which begins as Dido commits herself to the gods of the underworld and ends with Anna's final words to Hannibal; we lack the end of the conversation with Aeneas, the events that led to Anna's deification (cf. 8.46–9), and the start of her instructions to her fellow-countryman.

The narrative is remarkable for its changes of pace: similar amounts of space are given (in quick succession between 559 and 590) to the farewell to Dido's ashes, the two to three years spent with Battus on Malta, and the frantic moments when the crew tries to anticipate the onset of a storm. Littlewood 1980: 305–14 brings out the importance of speech and emotion in the episode.

**545–50 arserat Aeneae ... igne, | arserat ... rogis:** the anaphora produces a marked syllepsis, moving from the metaphorical fire with which *Aeneid* 4 begins (2 *caeco carpitur igni*, 68 *uritur infelix Dido*; cf. *Aen.* 1.660, 688, *Ep.* 7.23 *uror*) to the real fire with which it ends (4.661; 5.4; cf. the simile at 4.669–71): O. nicely encapsulates within the structure of his couplet a literary insight that a modern critic might bring out with several pages of analysis. Pluperfects mark the start of the narrative, as at 461, 677, 739, 854. For the objective genitive after *ignis* ('burning love for'), cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 5.10 *Phyllidos ignis* (imitated at *Trist.* 2.537); *Met.* 9.140 *Ioles ardore*, 10.253.

**Dido miserabilis:** Dido (famously *infelix*: 597 n.) is called *miser*a already in her love of Sychaeus at *Aen.* 1.344 and of Aeneas at 1.719; by 4.117 she is *miserrima*. When Aeneas decides to leave, she is in another way *miser*a (4.315, 420, 429, 697; so too in verse 610 here). She asks Aeneas or Anna for the pity she deserves at 4.318 (*miserere*), 370, 435, and she receives it at 4.437 (from Anna: *miserrima*) and 693 (from Juno: *miserata*).

**exstructis in sua fata rogis:** the pyre is built at *Aen.* 4.504–8 (after instructions to Anna at 494–7); *in sua fata* interprets Virgil's *haud ignara futuri* at 4.508 (as well as the frequent references to determination to die, e.g. at 308, 415, 451, 475, 519, 564); cf. also *Met.* 14.80–1 *inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta | incubuit ferro deceptaque decipit omnes*.

**compositusque cinis** 'and her ashes had been gathered and interred' (*OLD compositus* 4c), a synecdoche for the funeral rites as a whole. The phrase recurs in Ovid's wish for burial in a peaceful land at *Pont.* 1.2.109–10 *nec male compositos ... | Bistonii cineres ungula pulset equi*.

**quod moriens ipsa reliquit:** an audacious moment of literary one-upmanship: in 549–50 O. quotes as Dido's own the epitaph that he himself had written for her as the climax of her letter (*Ep.* 7.191–6).

Anna soror, soror Anna, meae male conscia culpa,  
iam dabis in cineres ultima dona meos.  
nec consumpta rogis inscribar Elissa Sychaei,  
hoc tantum in tumuli marmore carmen erit:

PRAEBVIT AENEAS ET CAUSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM;  
IPSA SVA DIDO CONCIDIT VSA MANV.

The *Fasti* lines confirm that Dido's instructions have been carried out to the letter (n.b. 547 **tumulique in marmore carmen**; the phrase *in tumuli marmore* also introduces the epitaph O. leaves for himself at *Trist.* 3.3.72–6): Anna, the explicit addressee at *Ep.* 7.191, is the effective recipient of the whole of what Dido writes. Aeneas has presented himself to the Carthaginians as the composer of a dedicatory hexameter (*Aen.* 3.288 AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBVS ARMA); Dido matches this with a sepulchral epigram, keeping Aeneas in the epic hexameter, *ensem* replacing *arma* at line-end, but adding herself, the symbol of unhappy love, in

the elegiac pentameter. **PRAEBVIT ... ET CAUSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM:** another significant syllepsis (also used at *Ars* 3.39–40 *hospes et ensem | praebuit et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae*). It emphasizes the fact that the sword with which Dido kills herself is the one left by Aeneas in her bedroom (*Aen.* 4.495 *arma uiri thalamo quae fixa reliquit*; 507; 646–7 *ensemque recludit | Dardanum, non hos quaesitum munus in usus*). For fuller treatment of the sword see *Ep.* 7.184–90, Bradley 1958, Akbar Khan 1968. The epitaph answers the question Aeneas had posed to her ghost at *Aen.* 6.458 *funeris heu tibi causa fui?* **IPSA SVA DIDO CONCIDIT VSA MANV:** no mention here of Iris' unseen role in dispatching the dying woman's soul (*Aen.* 4.700–5, n.b. *dextra*, 704); stress rather on Dido's decision, as marked by Virgil too, *Aen.* 4.696 *nec fato merita nec morte peribat*.

**551–4 protinus inuadunt Numidae sine uindice regnum:** the insecurity of Carthage is brought out in *Aen.* 1 when troops arrest half of the scattered Trojan fleet as soon as they land (1.539–41, 563–4), and more explicitly by Anna herself when at *Aen.* 4.39–43 she encourages her sister to pursue her love of Aeneas for reasons of state: Carthage is surrounded by hostile peoples (*Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello; Numidae infreni; furentes Barcaei*) and territory (*inhospita Syrtis; deserta siti regio*). **potitur:** 21 n. **Maurus Iarba:** it is Iarbas' prayer to his father Jupiter that leads to Mercury's intervention and Aeneas' departure from Carthage. *Iarba* is an alternative form of the nominative, metrically convenient for the elegist: cf. Quintilian 1.5.61. **seque memor spretum:** cf. *Aen.* 4.36–7 *despectus Iarbas | ductoresque alii*, 4.211–14 (Iarbas speaking) *femina quae nostris errans in finibus urbem | exiguum pretio posuit, ... conubia nostra | reppulit* (cf. *reppulit*, 554). **thalamis ... Elissae | ... fruor:** as the conquering invader, Iarbas enjoys access to Dido's old bedchamber, and increases his pleasure by playing on the metonymical sense of *thalamus*: cf. Dido's own use of the metonymy at *Aen.* 4.18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset* and 4.550 *thalami expertem*; the word denotes her bedroom proper at 4.133, 392, 495. *Elissa* is an alternative name, used thrice in the *Aeneid*. **quem totiens reppulit illa:** *totiens* presents an Iarbas who has repeatedly proposed marriage to Dido. That appears to be a novelty, but the adverb can also be read as pointing to the repeated accounts of Dido's rejection – and her rejection of numerous proposals: besides the two already cited from *Aeneid* 4, cf. *Ep.* 7.123–4 *mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes | nescioquem thalamis praeposuisse suis* (125 then names Iarbas).

**555–8 diffugiunt Tyrii:** in a phrase O. undoes Virgil's historical aetiology: if Dido's people flee in various directions after her death, there is no Tyrian city to maintain conflict with Aeneas' people, as she hopes (*Aen.* 4.622–9). **ut olim | amisso dubiae rege uagantur apes:** the simile illuminates the context with a combination of two Virgilian passages (Hinds



1987b: 14–16). At *Aen.* 1.430–6 the hard-working Carthaginians are compared to a hive of bees in springtime, using phrasing previously deployed in *Georgics* 4.162–9. O. follows up the consequences of the simile: if the Carthaginians are really like bees, what happens when the queen dies? Shortly after his account of the bees' delightfully ordered labour, Virgil describes the importance of the *rex* (what we know as the queen bee) to the hive, in life and death (*Geo.* 4.212–14): *rege incolumi mens omnibus una est; | amisso rupere fidem, constructaque mella | diripuerunt ipsae. ut olim* 'as on occasion' is used to introduce similes also at *Met.* 14.429, *Ibis* 339, Lucretius 4.57 e.g. **tertia nudandas acciperat area messes, | inque cauos ierant tertia musta lacus**: this couplet marking the passing of the three years stands between *diffugiunt Tyrii* (555) and *pellitur Anna domo* (559). After the general dispersal of the Carthaginians, the narrative turns its focus to the key individual. But why should Anna delay three years, especially when the aggressive Iarbas is sleeping in her sister's bed-chamber? Contrast Silius 8.54–5 *regnis se imponit Iarbas, | et tepido fugit Anna rogo*. Murgia 1987 saw that the lines belong with 575–6, where the length of Anna's stay in Malta is described: cf. Silius 8.61–2 *dum flauas bis tondet messor aristas, | seruata interea sedes* (echoing O.'s *seruasset*, 573). The gerundive *nudandas* expresses purpose ('to be stripped <of the husks>'): Woodcock 1959: §207(3).

**559–64** The passage reworks and expands Dido's verse on her own departure from Tyre at *Ep.* 7.115 *exul agor cineresque uiri patriamque relinquo*. **lacrimans**: so Aeneas departs from the Troad at *Aen.* 3.10, and from other Trojans at 3.492, 5.771. **iusta dat**: cf. the similar expressions used to describe Roman actions in annual celebrations of the dead, at the Feralia (2.569 *iusta ferunt*) and the Lemuria (5.452 *iusta soluta Remo*, 5.480 *iusta feruntur*), as well as Ino's burial of Learchus at 6.492 *dederat miseris omnia iusta rogis*. It is unclear whether this describes the funeral again (cf. 546–7), or a farewell rite to make up for the lack of annual offerings in years to come. **mixta bibunt molles lacrimis unguenta fauillae**: perfumes were a frequent feature of a grand funeral (see Bömer). For the combination with tears, cf. *Pont.* 1.9.53 *diluit et lacrimis maerens unguenta profusis*, [Tib.] 3.2.23–5, Martial 10.26.5–6. Statius, *Siluae* 2.6.86–90 lists perfumes before ending *hos tantum hausere fauillae, | hos bibit usque rogos*; Littlewood 1980: 308 compares Virgil's expression at *Aen.* 6.227 *reliquias uino et bibulam lauere fauillam*. **uertice libatas accipiuntque comas**: hair is offered to the dead already in Homer (*Iliad* 23.46, 135–6; *Od.* 4.198, 24.46), and by Orestes on his father's tomb (Aesch. *Cho.* 6–7, Soph. *El.* 52, 901, Eur. *El.* 91); in Latin cf. e.g. *Ep.* 11.116 *in tua ... tonsas ferre sepulcra comas*, Prop. 1.17.21 *illa meo caros donasset funere crines*. **terque uale dixit, ... ter** alludes to Ovid's own departure for

exile from his home, at *Trist.* 1.3.55–7 *ter limen tetigi, ter sum reuocatus ...; saepe uale dicto ...* (a poem repeatedly called to mind by what follows). *ter ... ter* elsewhere marks unavailing attempts to embrace the dead (*Aen.* 2.792–3, 6.700–1, imitating *Od.* 11.206–7); here Anna's gesture does conjure up at least a sense of Dido. **cineres ter ad ora relatos | pressit** 'three times she brought the ashes back to her face and pressed them': the prefix *re-* helps stress the repetition. For the action, compare the simile at *Silius* 8.129, where Dido embraces the sand on which Aeneas last stood *ceu cinerem orbatæ pressant ad pectora matres*.

**565–6 nacta ratem comitesque fugae:** equivalent to the account at *Aen.* 1.360–3 *fugam Dido sociosque parabat. ... nauis, quæ forte paratæ, | corripunt* (as here, flight is much stressed in Venus' account of Dido's past: cf. 1.341, 357; Tronchet 2014, n. 95). Comrades are a significant presence also in the exile stories of Aeneas (*Aen.* 2.796–800, 3.12 e.g.; *Met.* 13.624–31), Teucer (*Hor. Carm.* 1.7.21–32), Cadmus (*Met.* 3.3–27). We may contrast Ovid, who claims to have chosen no companions for his trip to Tomi (*Tristia* 1.3.9; borne out at 1.5.64 and *Pont.* 1.4.33–4, in extended comparisons of his plight with that of Ulysses and Jason respectively). **pede ... æquo** 'with the wind astern', literally 'with the two sheets equal'. *pes* (like Greek πούς) is the term for the rope attached to the bottom corner of a sail and used to position it to best receive the wind; *OLD* 12b; *Cic. Att.* 16.6.1 *pedibus æquis*, *Cat.* 4.20–1 *siue utrumque Iuppiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem*. **moenia respiciens:** a quotation from *Aen.* 5.3, Aeneas departing from Carthage. O. uses the participle of his own departure from his home and family at *Trist.* 1.3.60 *respiciens ... pignora cara*, and of the group of captives seized by marauders at *Trist.* 3.10.62 *respiciens frustra rura Laremque suum*. **dulce sororis opus:** *dulcis* evokes feelings for home and family (*Trist.* 1.3.64 *fidæ dulcia membra domus*), or *patria* (*Trist.* 3.8.8 *patriæ dulce ... solum*; *Aen.* 10.782 *dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*, echoed by O. at 5.653 *patriæ dulci tanguntur amore*), or both (*Trist.* 3.4.54) – and for Carthage itself in the troubled mind of Aeneas at *Aen.* 4.281 *ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras*. Application of the epithet to *opus* briefly revives the image of the Carthaginians as bees (556), producing the sweetness of honey (cf. 735–6).

**567–72 fertilis est Melite sterili uicina Cosyrae:** the island *Melite*, now Malta, which lies south of the eastern end of Sicily and in the sea north of Libya (568), was long under Phoenician influence, and specifically Carthaginian control by Hannibal's time, according to *Livy* 21.51.1. Pantelleria, with which *Cosyra* is apparently to be identified, lies to the north west, and much closer to Carthage. O. was no doubt more interested in the antithesis between *fertilis* and *sterili*, and the sense of narrative precision, than in real geographical accuracy. Initial *fertilis est* plays

on the *est locus* formula: 263 n. **hospitio regis confisa uetusto**: O. has begun his account of Anna's journey with a brief ecphrasis, as Aeneas does that of the Trojans, who head for the kingdom of Thrace, described as *hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates* (*Aen.* 3.15); they are forced to move on when they encounter the still bleeding corpse of Aeneas' cousin Polydorus, killed by King Polymestor, to whom he had been entrusted by Priam (3.49–56). Battus' hospitality will end, but not with an evil act. **opum diues** 'rich in resources': an allusion to Virgil, who uses the phrase of Carthage (*Aen.* 1.14) and Tenedos (2.22). The epithet is quickly belied by Battus' inability to stand up to Pygmalion, as expressed in 572–4. **Battus**: also the name of the founder of Cyrene, and the father of the Hellenistic elegiac poet Callimachus (called *Battiades*, 'son of Battus' at *Am.* 1.15.13, *Trist.* 2.367, 5.5.38, *Ibis* 55, *Cat.* 65.16, 116.2). The choice of name may reflect the unwarlike nature of the king (577–8): cf. *Rem.* 381 *Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles*, *Prop.* 2.1.40. O. does not conspicuously play with the meaning of the name ('Stammerer'), as he does in the case of another Battus at *Met.* 2.702–5; but there are repeated elements (underlined) in 572. **haec ... tellus quantulacumque tua est**: Battus' expression of welcome replicates Dido's generosity to the Trojans at *Aen.* 1.573 *urbem quam statuo, uestra est*; cf. also Apuleius, *Met.* 2.5.1 *tua sunt ... cuncta quae uides*. But there seems not to be the ominous irony present in each of those: the Trojans, as Romans, will possess Carthage; Lucius will match the experiences of Actaeon, the sculpture at the heart of Byrrhena's house. **quantulacumque** 'however small' recalls *Am.* 3.15.14 where a *hospes* is imagined saying of the walls of Sulmo, because it is Ovid's home town, *quantulacumque estis, uos ego magna uoco* (Barchiesi 1997a: 22–3). The word is also used by Celeus in offering hospitality to Ceres at 4.516 *tecta suae subeat quantulacumque casae*.

**573–6 et tamen**: the contrast can only be with *quantulacumque* (Battus would have provided hospitality although his home was small), but that is a subordinate notion within the previous couplet and critics have looked for alternatives; neither *tantum* (Krebs) nor *tandem* (A-W-C) really adds to the rhetoric, and a more radical corruption is possible (*et certè?*). **seruasset**: counterfactuals play an emotionally effective part in *Aen.* 4, e.g. at 327–30, 340–4, 657–8 *felix, si litora tantum | numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae*. **timuit magnas Pygmalionis opes**: Pygmalion, brother of Anna and Dido, and king of Tyre, had killed Dido's wealthy husband Sychaeus; they then fled with the gold Pygmalion sought (*Aen.* 1.346–64; *Ep.* 7.113–17, 150): he is thus a continuing source of anxiety to his sisters (*Aen.* 4.43–4, 325; *Ep.* 7.127–8). For the transposition of 557–8, see 555–8 n. Reducing to one the groups of three years fits the chronology of *Aeneid* 1.265–6, where the period of Aeneas' reign in Latium is described

in similar terms: *tertia dum Latio regnantem uiderit aestas | ternaue transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis*. If Anna does not reach Italy until the sixth year, Aeneas would have left Latium for godhead, on Virgil's chronology, to which O. alludes here. **bis** is surprising after *tertia ... tertia*, but perfectly logical: if we suppose that Anna has reached Malta in spring, by the time she has seen the third harvest and the third vintage, the sun has completed two full years, and is now making progress through the third. **exilio terra paranda noua est**: O. himself is keen to have a new place of exile, and preferably one closer to Rome (such as Anna finds): *Trist.* 3.8.42, *Pont.* 1.2.128, e.g.

**577–80 rex arma perosus, | nos sumus inbelles ..., ait**: the epic theme of the hexameter continues till *perosus* denies the thrust of *arma*. When Battus speaks, for the second time his words are confined within the limits of a pentameter, and his *inbelles* specifically negates *bello*. Barchiesi 1995: 10 notes the significant echoes of *Am.* 3.2.49 *nos odimus arma* and 3.15.19 *inbelles elegi*. **tu fuge ... iussa fugit**: the repetition neatly confirms Anna's acquiescence in Battus' instruction. **asperior quouis aequore**: for such emphatically paradoxical comparatives, cf. 2.98 (to Arion) *naue tua tutius aequor erat*, Dido to Aeneas at *Ep.* 7.44 *iustior est animo uentus et unda tuo*, Hermione on Pyrrhus at *Ep.* 8.9 *surdior ille freto*, Canace on Aeolus at 11.9 *ut ferus est multoque suis truculentior Euris*, Phaedra to Hippolytus at *Ep.* 4.166 *eris tauro saeuior ipse truci?* and Polyphemus' sequence of thirteen positive and thirteen negative comparatives for Galatea at *Met.* 13.789–807. O. describes the sea as *asper* at *Met.* 15.720; and Patroclus uses it as a measure of the hard-heartedness of Achilles at *Iliad* 16.34–5.

**581–4** The sequence from 581 to 600 is modelled on the storm that prevents the Trojans from reaching Italy in *Aeneid* 1 and (more succinctly) at *Met.* 14.76–7 *cum iam prope litus adessent | Ausonium, Libycas uento referuntur ad oras*; the Ovidian passages lack any hint of divine causality. **piscosos lapidosi Crathidis amnes**: at *Met.* 15.315–16 Pythagoras mentions the river as one that has the power to turn hair golden, along with the adjacent Sybaris, both of which flow into the Gulf of Tarentum. Aeneas has sailed past the gulf at *Aen.* 3.551–2. It is appropriate that Anna, subsequently a river nymph (653–4), should head for *amnes*. For *lapidosus*, see 273n. **paruus ager: Cameren** [Greek acc.] **incola turba uocat**: the line explains why Camere is such an unfamiliar name that it appears nowhere else. It is hard to see why O. chose this as Anna's intended second destination: it brings her towards Italy, but Sybaris is far from Latium where she will shortly be shipwrecked; exile can bring to prominence names that were previously unknown, but this is land on which the heroine will not even set foot. The frustration for the reader mimics the

frustration of the travellers (cf. 590). **quantum nouies mittere funda potest**: O. twice uses slingshots in similes in the *Met.*: 4.709-10 *tantum aberat scopulis quantum Balearica torto | funda potest plumbo medii transmittere caeli*, and 14.825-6. Such expressions of distance go back to the *Iliad* (15.358-9, 16.589-91). The military note perhaps anticipates the epic storm of 588-600.

**585-90 uela cadunt**: an echo of *Aen.* 3.207 *uela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae | adnixi torquent spumas* (between the Black Storm and arrival on the island of the Harpies); unfortunately, here there is a short delay and the storm hits. **primo et**: for elision before *et* at this point in the line (2d in the notation of Platnauer 1951: 82-3), cf. 6.443 *pro-uolat in medi(um)*, *et magna, succurrite, uoce* (which has a strong caesura in the fourth foot, as this verse does), *Pont.* 2.6.23 *turpe sequi cas(um) et Fortunae accedere amicum*, and perhaps *Trist.* 4.2.55 (some MSS omit the *et*).

**dubia librantur ab aura** 'they are held in equilibrium by the uncertain breeze': cf. 6.271 (on the stability of the spherical earth) *ipsa uolubilitas libratum sustinet orbem*, *OLD libro* 2a. **nauita** 'the sailor', presumably the captain addressing the crew, but perhaps collective singular.

**torto subducere carbaso lino** 'to furl [*OLD* 1d] the canvas with twisted flax', i.e. the sails with ropes or brails: contrast the opposite process at *Met.* 6.231-3 *ueluti cum praescius imbris | nube fugit uisa pendentiaque undique rector | carbaso deducit* and 11.476-7 *totaque malo | carbaso deducit uenientesque accipit auras*. One synecdoche immediately follows another: the sails are made from flax and so are the ropes: cf. Servius on *Aen.* 3.357 *carbasus autem genus lini est*. O. uses *linum* of cordage at *Met.* 14.554 *lina comae molles* (sc. *fiunt*).

**percutitur**: not a common usage (the verb is more commonly used of striking with hand or wings, sunlight, a tool or a weapon), but cf. *Trist.* 1.1.85 *mea cumba semel uasta percussa procella* (metaphorical, of Ovid's poetry), Livy 28.17.15 *percussa ... uela paulo acriori uento* (and *TLL* s.v. 1245.13-24 for later examples).

**puppis adunca** 'hook-shaped boat', an Ovidian combination (*Met.* 3.651, 14.550, *Ep.* 16.114).

**rapido ... Noto** 'by a gale-force wind' (without indication of direction), an echo of Dido's wish at *Aen.* 1.575-6 *utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem | adforet Aeneas*. Eventually Anna will be driven north, but not by the first blast.

**inque patens aequor** i.e. out of the Gulf of Tarentum – but the geography is then left entirely vague until Anna reaches the Laurentine coast in 599. The narrative moment is like that at which Horace sets *Carm.* 1.14, beginning *O nauis, referent in mare te noui | fluctus*, which Quintilian read as an allegory of the *respublica* (*Inst.* 8.6.44).

**frustra pugnante magistro**: O. has *magister* of the helmsman of a ship (*OLD* 3) only once elsewhere, at *Ars* 1.6 *Tiphys in Haemonia puppe magister erat*, whereas he uses it twelve times of himself, in particular as

the author of the didactic *Ars Amatoria*. Thus two pointers in a single verse encourage the reader to look for allegory here: the stormy voyage is repeatedly reminiscent of Ovid's journey to Tomi, and there is generic allegory too: the storm carries Anna away from the little farm and pebbly stream of 581–2 back into the dangerous world of epic (595 n.). **ex oculis uisa refugit humus**: a metaphorical encapsulation of Anna's story, in which she repeatedly flees, and ends up disappearing from sight. For the illusion that makes the land seem to move, not the sailor, cf. Lucretius 4.387–90, Virg. *Aen.* 3.72, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 444–5.

**591–4** The storm continues with typical details, less hyperbolically described than in some other texts. **adsiliunt fluctus**: cf. 5.612 *adsilientis aquae* (of Europa at sea, as also at *Met.* 6.107), *Trist.* 1.4.8 *insilit ... unda*. **imoque a gurgite pontus | uertitur**: elsewhere it is the sand from the floor of the sea that is stirred up in O.'s storms: *Met.* 11.499 *ex imo uertit harenas*, *Trist.* 1.4.6 *ex imis feruet harena fretis*. **canas alueus haurit aquas**: the same point is expressed more dramatically at *Met.* 11.534 *pars maris intus erat*, *Trist.* 1.11.17 *saepe maris pars intus erat*. **uincitur ars uento nec iam moderator habenis | utitur, at uotis is quoque poscit opem**: in addition to shared phrasing the couplet as a whole is equivalent to *Trist.* 1.11.21–2 *ipse gubernator tollens ad sidera palmas | exposcit uotis, immemor artis, opem*, where the raising of the hands shows they are no longer on the 'reins' (used by the ancients instead of a tiller); Ovid by contrast is still engaged in his *ars*, writing poetry despite the storms, real (17–18, 39–44) and metaphorical (9–10; cf. 34). Cf. too details in the storm at *Met.* 11.537–42 *deficit ars ... hic uotis numen adorat | brachiaque ad caelum, quod non uidet, irrita tollens | poscit opem*, and the failure of the helmsman's *ars* at *Trist.* 1.2.31–2 *rector in incerto est ... ars stupet ipsa*, 1.4.11–12  *nauita ... non regit arte ratem*.

**595–8 iactatur ... exul Phoenissa**: Anna is the subject for the first time since 579, and even now the first verb is passive (like many of those since 579): she is a victim of circumstances, helplessly carried across the sea by the storm. **tumidas ... per undas**: the adjective is a conventional marker of epic: Prop. 3.9.35 *non ego uelifera tumidum mare findo carina*, 4.11.40; *Met.* 1.460; 8.396, 437; 11.480 *mare sub noctem tumidis albescere coepit | fluctibus* (as the epic storm approaches). The fountainhead of the usage seems to be Catullus 95.10 *at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho*, an imitation of Callimachus' description of Antimachus' long elegy *Lyde* as παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν, 'a swollen book and not lucid' (fr. 398 Pfeiffer). In this context (*exull*) a series of instances of *tumidus* in the *Tristia* (1.2.24 *pontus*, 1.5.77 *undis*, 2.18 *aquas*) is also important. **lumina ueste tegit**: Ilia (604 n.) does the same in her suicidal distress at *Am.* 3.6.79 *uestem tumidis praetendit ocellis*. **tum primum**: what follows brilliantly

entwines allusion to two quite different sets of passages, inverting one of them; it is therefore both daring and apt for O. to mark this as something new.

**Dido felix est dicta:** at *Ep.* 7.65–70 Dido predicts that Aeneas will remember her when he is caught in a storm (610 n.). In the *Aeneid* Dido is described as *infelix* ('lovesick', but still hopeful) at 1.712, 1.749, 4.68, and at 4.450, 529 where still sick with love, but determined on death because of Aeneas' commitment to leaving. At 4.596, when she sees the fleet departing, she calls herself *infelix*; so does the narrator as the Trojans look back on the city's walls, glowing with her fire; and, when the pair meet in the underworld, Aeneas' opening words are *infelix Dido*. Cf. also 545 *miserabilis*. By contrast *felix* itself appears in only one line of *Aeneid* 4, at 657, where Dido remembers how successful/happy she had been until the Trojan boats arrived. More long-standing is the other tradition to which O. here responds: those caught in epic storms at sea express envy of those who have died on land, in particular Odysseus at *Od.* 5.306–7 'Thrice and four times blessed are the Greeks who died in the past in the broad fields of Troy', Aeneas at *Aen.* 1.94–6 *o terque quaterque beati | quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis | contigit oppetere!* (before going on to name Hector and Sarpedon). Similar emotions are expressed by tragic voices, such as Andromache at Euripides, *Trojan Women* 630–83, arguing that her sister-in-law, the dead Polyxena, is better off than she is herself; Andromache reprises this at *Aen.* 3.321–4. **sorori:** dative of the agent, as commonly with past participles and verbs of speaking, e.g. 440 *sumpta Ioui*, 528 *quibus ... frondea facta casa est*, 1.61 *haec mihi dicta semel*, 1.325 *priscis Agnalia dictum*, 2.475, 4.863. **et quaecumque aliquam corpore pressit humum** 'and any woman who burdened some land with her body': an odd continuation of the topos when the reader expects 'and anyone else who died on land', as implicitly in the storm at *Met.* 11.539–40 *uocat ille beatos | funera quos maneat*, as well as the cases dealing with Troy already mentioned. Cf. *Ep.* 7.140 *Punica nec Teucris pressa fuisset humus*, *Trist.* 5.14.40 *cuius | Iliacam celeri uir pede pressit humum*, *Ars* 3.192 (Andromeda) *sic tibi uestitae pressa Seriphos erat*; Seneca, *Ag.* 399 *pelagus an terras premit?* O. has four instances of *premere humum* (or *terras*) referring to the newly dead or unburied: 4.844 *ille premit duram sanguinolentus humum*, 5.710 *non exspectato uulnere pressit humum*; *Met.* 5.135–6 *hoc quod premis ... habeto | ... terrae*, 7.608 *inhumata premunt terras*; the phrasing here is far vaguer. Conceivably the text has been corrupted, e.g. from *quaecumque aliquis corpora pressit humus* (cf. e.g. *Pont.* 1.2.108 *ossa nec a Scythica nostra premantur humo*).

**599–600 ducitur ... puppis:** O. occasionally uses *duci* to describe the propulsion of a ship (*OLD* *duco* 19b), in each case as it heads towards its destination (cf. *OLD* *deduco* 8e): *Met.* 15.732 *per aduersas nauis cita ducitur undas*

(i.e. up the Tiber to Rome), *Trist.* 4.8.17 *in caua ducuntur quassae naualia puppes*.

**ad Laurens ... litus:** a first pointer towards a significant intertext: cf. *Met.* 14.598 *litus adit Laurens* – the arrival of Venus in Latium to instruct the river Numicius about the deification of Aeneas (604, 647 nn.). The adjective *Laurens* refers to the coastal region south of the mouth of the Tiber, where the city of Laurentum was situated: Anna moves into the landscape of the second half of the *Aeneid*; 7.59–63 derive the name from the laurel in the middle of Latinus' palace, and the word appears 30 times (including instances looking ahead at 5.797 and 6.891). Cf. also Tib. 2.5.41–2 (the Sibyl addresses Aeneas) *iam tibi Laurentes assignat Iuppiter agros; | iam uocat errantes hospita terra Lares*. **hausta** 'swallowed up' (*OLD haurio* 7b). **perit:** cf. *Ars* 3.584 *perit uentis obruta cumba*.

**601–4 pius Aeneas:** a phrase that occurs fifteen times in the *Aeneid* (with additional variants, beginning from the programmatic 1.10 *insignem pietate uirum*); it thus matches the *felix* of Dido at 597. In Carthage Aeneas' *pietas* is stressed by Ilioneus in his speech to Dido (1.545), and the narrator uses the phrase *at pius Aeneas* as he parts from Dido (4.393); but Dido herself sees him as having broken his word and so describes him as *impius* (4.496). As well as Ovid (1.527, *Am.* 2.18.31), Horace (*Carm.* 4.7.15) and Silius (7.474) use the phrase to evoke the character or Virgil's poem. What follows is an amusingly phrased synopsis of the aftermath of the *Aeneid*, in the manner of the abbreviated version of books 1/4, 6, and 7–12 that the *Metamorphoses* provides at 14.78–81, 14.116–19, and 14.449 respectively (see Myers *ad locc.*).

**regno nataque Latini | auctus erat** 'strengthened by [or furnished with] the kingdom and the daughter of Latinus': as often the syllepsis has a slightly comic effect. The verb encourages us to think of Augustus, the man whose name is cognate with *augere*, as O. explains at 1.611–13 *huius et augurium dependet origine uerbi | et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope. | augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos*. Lavinia is first offered as a bride for Aeneas at *Aen.* 7.268–73, and the imminent wedding is confirmed by Turnus' words at 12.937 *tua est Lauinia coniunx* (echoed by O. at 629). But Aeneas denies that he seeks Latinus' kingdom: *nec mihi regna peto*, he says at 12.190; then (192–3) *socer arma Latinus habeto, | imperium sollemne socer*. Yet he has, in Ovid's account (and Dion. Hal. 1.64.1), quickly gained what in Virgil he foreswore. Likewise at *Met.* 14.569–71 *nec iam dotalia regna, | nec sceptrum soceri, nec te, Lauinia uirgo, | sed uicisse petunt*, the future kingdom is presented as a motivation for the war (though one subsequently subordinate to the simple desire for victory).

**populos miscueratque duos:** the intermingling of Trojan and Italian is described in Livy 1.1.10–2.5 and Dion. Hal. 1.60.1–2, and foreshadowed in various ways in *Aeneid* 12: they collaborate in setting up the (subsequently aborted) duel between Aeneas and



Turnus (12.117 *Rutulique uiri Teucrique*, 137 *Laurentum Troumque acies*); Latinus and Aeneas strike a firm *foedus* (12.161-215); Juno consents to peaceful unity as long as the Latins keep their name and that of Troy dies (12.821-8). But Aeneas also mixes the two peoples by fathering children on Lavinia, and the sexual connotation of *misceo* (Adams 1987: 180-1) may be felt here. The pluperfects (and the use of *dotalis*) match the account of Diomedes' settlement in southern Italy, *Met.* 14.459 *moenia condiderat dotaliaque arua tenebat*. **litore dotali**: cf. *Met.* 14.569 *dotalia regna*. The phrase contains poignant echoes of Dido's words at *Ep.* 7.118 *quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo* and 7.149-50 *hos ... populos in dotem ... accipe*. O. perhaps picks up the sarcastic tone with which the adjective is employed in the *Aeneid*, by Juno to Venus at 4.103-4 *liceat Phrygio servire marito | dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae*, and Drances to Turnus at 11.369 *si adeo dotalis regia cordi est* (similarly Pandarus at 9.737 *non haec dotalis regia Amatae*). **litore** links this story to Ariadne's (469). **solo comitatus Achate**: Achates is Aeneas' regular companion in the *Aeneid*, but this alludes in particular to the episode in book 1 in which they encounter Venus and then head into Carthage, introduced by the lines 1.312-13 *ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate | bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro* (see Newlands 1996: 328). The second verse there brings out the epic aspects of the scene; O.'s pentameter is rather different. **secretum ... iter**: is this a 'secret' journey, or just 'out of the way'? Is Aeneas keen to get away from the crowds and the burdens of rule? Now he has found a settled home, does he (like Tennyson's Ulysses) hanker after his old life as a traveller? Or is there a purpose here that Anna's sudden arrival interrupts? An assignation? A meeting with his mother at the mouth of the Numicius? The context provides no certain answer, but the adjective (which like *nudo* is stressed by the postponement of *dum*) ought to stimulate such questions. **nudo ... pede**: again the adjective provokes curiosity: compare Ovid's own surprise (*obstipui*, 6.398) when he sees a barefoot matron near the forum. Why does Aeneas wear no shoes? There are a variety of answers, not mutually exclusive. For Peter (*ad loc.*), Littlewood (1980: 311), and Delz (1994: 90, n. 5), Aeneas goes barefoot as a sign of primitive simplicity: cf. *Aen.* 7.689, *Hor. Ep.* 1.19.12-13 *siquis vultu toruo ferus et pede nudo | ... simulet ... Catonem*. Barchiesi 1995: 8 suggests the phrase turns Aeneas into a mime (or pantomime) performer, just as his mother wears the buskin of tragedy when she meets Aeneas and Achates at *Aen.* 1.314-405 (n.b. 337 *coturno*): as well as the noun *planipes* (= 'barefoot'), cf. the implication of Seneca, *Ep.* 8.8 *quam multa Publii non excalceatis sed coturnatis dicenda sunt*. The story will later enter the world of mime when Anna jumps out of her bed and through the window at 643-4, before running across the countryside, still apparently barefoot (650). Nudity of the feet may indicate informality, and hint at erotic encounters: though

these are usually set in the bedroom (*Am.* 3.7.82, *Hor. Serm.* 1.2.132), O. depicts a number of heroines barefoot as they are about to be taken up by gods: Ariadne (*nuda pedem* at *Ars* 1.530; cf. 645 n.), Persephone (4.426 *errabat nudo per sua prata pede*), and Ilia (*Am.* 3.6.50 *errabat nudo per loca sola pede*). The allusion to Ilia is particularly important because she is an obvious model for Anna: her story ends with her throwing herself into the river Anio (*Am.* 3.6.79–82) and becoming a nymph (3.6.63 *tu centum aut plures inter dominabere nymphas*). But here it is Aeneas who is like Ilia, and he too will gain immortality by entering the river Numicius and having his physical body washed away (*Met.* 14.600–8). It may be relevant to this line of interpretation that ritual often requires the absence of one shoe or both (e.g. Dido at *Virg. Aen.* 4.518 *unum exuta pedem uinclis*; Medea at *Met.* 7.183 *nuda pedem*; Columella 11.3.64); and that gods are often depicted barefoot (e.g. Bacchus at *Prop.* 3.17.32 *feries nudos ueste fluente pedes*; Mars Ultor on coins and gems; the Prima Porta Augustus).

**605–8 aspicit errantem:** Tronchet 2014 §36 brings out how the echo of *Aen.* 1.184–5 *litore ceruos | prospicit errantis* makes this a threatening moment for Anna. **nec credere sustinet:** for negated *sustinere* + inf. cf. 4.849–50 *nec iam suspendere fletum | sustinet*, OLD 6 (O. has eight instances in the *Met.*). This is a grim echo of Aeneas' words to Dido's shade at *Aen.* 6.463–4 *nec credere quivi | hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem* (a notion that he returns to in 617–18: cf. Barchiesi 1997a: 164–5). **quid in Latios illa ueniret agros?** 'why should she come to Italian territory', an indirect question attributed to Aeneas, continuing the internal discourse indicated by *nec credere sustinet Annam esse*. **dum secum Aeneas, Anna est, exclamat Achates:** Aeneas' taciturn musings (cf. Feeney 1983) lead to Achates' exclamation. Each recalls at least one moment in the *Aeneid*: when Aeneas hides his emotions at 1.208–22, the point is expressed with *secum* at 221 (cf. also 6.158; and *secum* of Dido at 4.475, 533); Achates' cry to mark Anna's arrival echoes the one he makes on first spotting Italy at *Aen.* 3.523 *Italiam primus conclamat Achates*. A pointed, though temporary, ambiguity bridges the move (in an unpunctuated text): *Aeneas Anna est* ('Anna is Aeneas') brings out one fundamental aspect of Anna's narrative here (Porte 1985: 149).

**609–12 heu, quid agat?** The thoughts of Lucretia are similarly expressed through indirect speech marked only by subjunctives at 2.801–4 *quid faciat? pugnet? ... clamet? ... effugiat?* In that case Lucretia's mental state is described in 797–800; here indirect discourse is present already in 606. The echo of book 2 gives depth to Anna's understandable anxiety in meeting her sister's destroyer once again. **fugiat?** ('should she flee?') suggests a return to the narrative pattern that has been Anna's sad role since leaving Tyre (cf. *Aen.* 1.340–68) and then Carthage (565, 578–9; cf.

641), as well as echoing various passages in the *Aeneid*, especially 4.314 *mene fugis?* (Dido to Aeneas) and 6.466 *quem fugis?* (Aeneas to Dido), and *Ep.* 7.41 *quo fugis?* (Dido to Aeneas). **quos terrae quaerat hiatus?** The expression has some similarity to the wish of Briseis at *Ep.* 3.63 (if Achilles sails home) *deuorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatu*, but a more significant model comes in the words of Anna's sister, swearing loyalty to her oath to Sychaeus, at *Aen.* 4.24 *sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat* (itself based on *Iliad* 4.182 *τότε μοι χάνοι εὔρεϊα χθών*). **ante oculos ... fata sororis:** Dido predicted to Aeneas that her death (and his lies) would come into his mind if he were caught in a storm at sea, *Ep.* 7.69 *coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago* (which picks up her own insistence that his image does not leave her vision by night or day, *Ep.* 7.25–6). **Cytherēiūs hērōs:** both words identify Aeneas as semi-divine. After her birth in the sea Venus first came to the island of Cythera (Hesiod, *Theog.* 192), and had a famous temple there (Herodotus 1.105). Dido complains at *Ep.* 7.36 that Aeneas did not inherit his mother's erotic character, so use of the matronymic is provocative here. The whole phrase is used as a line-ending also at *Met.* 13.625, and 14.584 *tempestiuus erat caelo Cythereius heros*, where the imminence of Aeneas' deification is explicit. **flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui:** like Anna's (610), Aeneas' thoughts are dominated by Dido. Now he weeps, as he did when he saw her shade in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.455, 476) and, perhaps, when Anna appealed to him in Carthage (4.449 *mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes*); now he is moved, as his eyes (4.331–2) and mind (4.449) were not in the past.

**613–16 per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas ...:** a classic piece of misdirection: after the concentration on Dido in 610, 612, the reader (and Anna) expects Aeneas to swear in her name, but it turns out that *hanc* is a proper deictic ('this ... here'), and *tellurem* will show that he has not changed from the Aeneas of *Aen.* 4 (e.g. 347 *hic amor, haec patria est*). The word order and the effect are very different in Silius' allusion at 8.105 *tellurem hanc iuro*. Anna has heard Aeneas repeatedly tell his story in the *Aeneid*: books 2–3 emphasize the pressure put on him by the gods, and the point is made explicitly at 4.340–61; in addition 4.77–9 report repeated *conuiuia*, with renewed requests for his story; and 4.413–49 tell of Anna's acting as a go-between, carrying her sister's appeals to Aeneas time after time. At their first meeting, he has sworn to remember Dido with honour (1.607–10); but the oath closest to this in expression is one Anna certainly did not hear, in the underworld, at 6.458–61: *per sidera iuro, | per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est, | inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. | sed me iussa deum ...* **fato prosperiore dari:** Aeneas frequently says in the *Aeneid* that the Trojans' destination is in the hands of the Fates (e.g. 3.7, 9, 375, 395, 494; at 1.205 they promise peace in Latium after

storms). **deos comites**: so Hector has described the Penates at *Aen.* 2.293-4 *sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis*; | *hos cape fatorum comites* (already echoed by Dido at *Ep.* 7.158 *perque fugae comites, Dardana sacra, deos*). **nuper**: see 575-6 n. on the chronology. **illos** i.e. the gods accompanying him. The Penates speak to Aeneas at *Aen.* 3.147-78, but he is apparently accompanied by images of the Olympian gods too (3.12), and *increpuisse* ('criticized') most obviously recalls Mercury's scornful speech at 4.265-76.

**617-20 nec timui**: Aeneas imitates Anna, as reported at *Aen.* 4.500-2 *non tamen Anna ... grauiora timet quam morte Sychaei*. **ei mihi**: in the *Aeneid* he uses this exclamation of woe when remembering the visit from Hector's ghost (2.274) and the death of Pallas (11.57). The phrase is more at home in elegy: 41 occurrences in the Ovidian elegiacs (just 5 in the *Met.*), including emblematic moments such as *Am.* 2.18.20 and *Trist.* 1.1.2. **credibili fortior** 'braver than what is credible': cf. 605 n. The neuter ablative is used instead of a comparative clause; so too at *Trist.* 1.5.49 *multaque credibili tulimus maiora*. **ne refer**: in this episode that reworks material from Virgil and O. himself couplet after couplet, there is some irony in Aeneas' telling Anna not to repeat a story he already knows. **aspexi non illo pectore digna | uulnera**: this recalls the scene where Aeneas sees Dido in the part of the underworld occupied by those who have died from love: *Aen.* 6.450-2 *inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido | errabat ... quam Troius heros ... agnouit*. The MSS are divided between *pectore* and *corpore*; of the two nouns *pectus* has a broader sense of the individual as a whole – mind and character as well as body (cf. Dido's words at 1.567 *non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni*); and it occurs six times with reference to Dido in *Aeneid* 4, notably in describing the wound at 4.689 *infixum stridit sub pectore uulnus*; whereas *corpus* refers to her only once (4.703).

**621-6 seu ratio te nostris appulit oris | siue deus**: *seu ratio* suggests a deep misunderstanding of Anna's attitude (cf. 609-10). The phrase evokes Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.1-2 *sortem | seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit*, but Aeneas' alternative suits a world where gods rather than chance rule human action, and there is an obvious allusion to the final verse of his narrative, *Aen.* 3.715 *hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris*. At *Aen.* 4.45-6 Anna also affirms (with partial truth) that it is through divine influence, specifically Juno's, that the Trojans have ended up at Carthage; cf. also Deiphobus' question to Aeneas at 6.532-3 *pelagine uenis erroribus actus | an monitu diuum?* When writing about his own divinely imposed exile, O. plays with similar alternatives at *Trist.* 3.6.17-18 *siue malum potui tamen hoc uitare cauendo*, | *seu ratio fatum uincere nulla uolet*, and in *Ep.* 16 Paris, who maintains that he has come to Sparta through divine influence and

choice (16–35), rejects other explanations with an echo of this couplet in verse 29 *neque tristis hiems neque nos huc appulit error*. There is a significant hint of Anna's future in *siue deus*: though the noun is intended as an alternative subject for *appulit*, the shaping of the clause allows it to stand independently so the reader can supply *es*: 'or you are a divinity'. **commoda** 'advantages', 'amenities', as at *Pont.* 1.8 29 *urbanae commoda uitae*. O. uses the word in a similar context at *Met.* 11.283 *mediae quoque commoda plebi | nostra patent, Peleu, nec inhospita regna tenemus*, but it does not appear in the *Aeneid*. Moreover, O. has also used it to refer to 'erotic access' (*Am.* 3.2.20, 3.10.4; *Ars* 1.131–6, 2.438), an unfortunate connotation given what follows. **multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae**: a reworking for new circumstances of the opening of Aeneas' defensive speech at *Aen.* 4.333–6:

ego te, quae plurima fando  
enumerare uales, numquam, regina, negabo  
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae  
dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

As well as basic theme (acknowledgement of debt), the two passages share stress on memory, and careful use of double negatives. **nomine grata tuo, grata sororis eris** 'you will be welcome for your own sake and your sister's'; but there is also a play on *nomen* – Anna's welcome presence in the *Fasti* is due to her name. **talìa dicenti**: a pointed allusion to the phrase that marks the end of Aeneas' speech at *Aen.* 4.362 *talìa dicentem iamdudum auersa tuetur* (i.e. *Dido*): Anna's plight is so desperate that she has to trust the man who has betrayed her sister. **errores exposuitque suos**: cf. *Dido's* request that Aeneas tell the tale of Troy's fall 'and your wanderings' (*erroresque tuos*, 1.755). Unlike Virgil, O. has already given his account.

**627–32 Tyrios induta paratūs**: for the accusative, see *OLD* *induo* 2b. Anna originally comes from Tyre (555, 631), and thus her clothing will be 'Tyrian' in style. But because the most costly purple dye came from Phoenicia (*Med.* 9; *Ep.* 12.179; *Ars* 3.170; *Rem.* 708), the adjective is regularly used to create an impression of luxury (Tib. 1.2.77, 2.4.28; *Met.* 5.51, 11.166); and it is thus associated with women who are out to impress (Tib. 1.9.70; Prop. 3.14.27). Aeneas himself is wearing a cloak of Tyrian purple and gold when Mercury accosts him at *Aen.* 4.262–4. *paratus* also connotes luxury, as when Paris complains that Sparta is too poor to match Helen's beauty at *Ep.* 16.193–4 *hanc faciem largis sine fine paratibus uti | deliciisque decet luxuriare nouis*. It is not surprising that Lavinia is suspicious. Moreover, as James Morwood\* suggests, the couplet hints at the scene in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* when Agamemnon, about to walk on the purple cloths like an eastern potentate, commends his concubine Cassandra to

his wife Clytemestra (905–57; *consumpsi opes* in 630 echoes his φθείροντα πλοῦτον, 949); cf. Chiu 2016: 81. **incipit Aeneas (cetera turba tacet)**: 626 has echoed the end of *Aeneid* 1; this verse recalls the start of *Aeneid* 2: *Conticuere omnes ... inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*. There it is Aeneas who is the guest in a foreign court, telling the tale of past adventures. Here he is the one welcoming an exotic guest – and his words will inspire not love (despite *ames*, 632), but fear and hatred. As Newlands points out (1996: 329), ‘he does not give Anna’s name but incompetently describes her in such ambiguous language that she could be assumed to be Dido herself’; n.b. *regnum ... possedit* (631). *cetera turba* makes a chorus of the courtiers, here listening, in contrast to the chorus of women around Lavinia as she reacts to her mother’s suicide at *Aen.* 12.606–7 *tum cetera circum | turba furit*. **hanc tibi ... tradam** ‘I hand this woman over to your care’; but *tradere* can also mean ‘betray’ or ‘surrender’ (*OLD* 3), or ‘pass on property’ (cf. the slave Briseis at *Ep.* 3.23 *cum tradebar*), so Anna has cause to be alarmed by the word. In particular, Dido has used it four times in *Ep.* 7, of what she has given over to Aeneas (12 *summa* ‘sovereignty’, 15 *terra*, 163 *domus*), but at 125 of what he might do to her: *quid dubitas uinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae?* **pia** plays on Aeneas’ identity (601); it also shows how the concept of *pietas* stretches beyond duty to family, country, and gods to include the obligations of guest-friendship. **pia causa, Lauinia coniunx, | est mihi**: another disturbing ambiguity. The modern punctuation insists that Lavinia is Aeneas’ wife (and so presumably did his spoken articulation); but in antiquity readers had to ‘punctuate’ the text themselves (cf. p. 45). Ovid nowhere else adds *coniunx* or *uxor* to a name in an address as here (the closest parallel is *coniunx* added to the subject *Alcyone* at *Met.* 11.384 and 563), so it might be tempting to take *coniunx* in the main clause (‘a wife is my reason’; cf. *Met.* 10.23 *causa uiae est coniunx*): despite Aeneas’ denial at *Aen.* 4.338–9, Dido maintains that the two of them are married, both in the *Aeneid* (e.g. 4.172, 316, 496) and her letter (*Ep.* 7.69). It would be typically Ovidian to sneak in an inadvertent admission by Aeneas that she was right. Alternatively a sentence break could be marked after *Lauinia*, with *pia causa* <est> implied: *coniunx est mihi* then becomes ‘she is my wife’, and recalls Varro’s assertion that Anna was the Carthaginian with whom Aeneas had an affair (as reported by Servius, *Aen.* 5.4, DServ. 4.682). **quam ... carae more sororis ames**: again an unfortunate ambiguity. What Aeneas means is ‘love her as if she were your dear sister’; but this can be read as ‘as if she were her dear sister’ – and Dido was *cara* also to Aeneas himself – or ‘in the manner of her dear sister’ – and Dido’s love turned to hate.

**633–8** The focus shifts first to Lavinia and then back to Anna; and Aeneas disappears from the narrative (as he does physically in the accounts of his

end in Dion. Hal. 1.64.4 and Cato, as cited by Servius on *Aen.* 4.620 = *FRHist* 5F7).

**omnia promittit:** the phrase comes with the implication that the promise may not be kept: cf. *Ep.* 17.229 *omnia Medae fallax promisit Iason*; Cic. *Phil.* 2.89 *quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum* (before changing your mind); Cic. *Ep.Q.F.* 1.2.16 *Pompeius omnia pollicetur et Caesar* (but he trusts them only with caution); *Bell. Afr.* 7.1; Sall. *Jug.* 111.3 *omnia se facturum promittit* (Bocchus will toy with helping Jugurtha, before keeping his promise to Sulla); Martial 12.12.1–2 *Omnia promittis, cum tota nocte bibisti; | mane nihil praestas.*

**falsum ... uulnus:** the wound is caused by jealousy (in contrast to Dido's metaphorical wound, caused by love: *Aen.* 4.2, 67); *falsum* seems to reveal that it is 'unjustified' (*Trist.* 1.5.37 *metu falso*) and thus to exculpate Aeneas; but the epithet could alternatively mean *fallax* (*TLL* s.v. *fallo* 192.60–3), i.e. 'making her deceitful'.

**mente premit tacita:** keeping her real feelings to herself is like her husband's behaviour at *Aen.* 1.209 *spem uultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, 4.332 *curam sub corde premebat.*

**dissimulaturque metus:** dissimulation is a theme of the central portion of *Aen.* 4: the Trojans pretend not to be leaving (291); Dido refuses to hide her own feelings (368, *quid dissimulo?*); and at 4.305–6, the start of her first speech, she accuses Aeneas of trying to hide his plans in silence: *dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum | posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?*

**praeter sua lumina** is set in contrast to *clam quoque*. even though she sees numerous gifts being given openly, she still imagines that more are being given without her knowledge. The phrase recalls 483 *ante oculos ... nostros* and thus helps connect this story with Ariadne's (476 n.): there is no trust from either wife.

**non habet exactum quid agat** 'she does not have a definite plan what to do' (*OLD* *exigo* 10d).

**furiatiter odit:** Lavinia behaves like Dido, and her mother Amata too: cf. *Aen.* 4.376 *heu furiis incensa feror*; 4.474–5 *ubi concepit furias euicta dolore | decrevitque mori* (cf. 638); 4.646 *furibunda*; 4.622–3 *o Tyrii, stirpem ... | exercete odiis*; and the madness inspired in Amata by the Fury Allecto at 7.341–405 (n.b. *furiale malum ... sine more furit lymphata per urbem* at 375–7); 12.601 *effata furorem*, just before Amata's suicide (cf. 628 n.); and the hatred of Aeneas implied by her words at 12.62–3. But Lavinia is also like the Aeneas who rejects Turnus' urging *ulterius ne tende odiis* (12.938) and kills him *furiis accensus* (12.946). *furiatiter*, derived from *furalis* ('like a Fury') is a form that is not otherwise extant till far later (*TLL* 1617.83–1618.2).

**parat insidias:** she plans a crime as heinous as those of Polymestor, murderer of Priam's son Polydorus, who had been sent to live with him (*Aen.* 3.49–56), and Anna's brother Pygmalion, who killed Sychaeus *ante aras* (*Aen.* 1.349).

**cupit ulta mori:** though she dies announcing *morietur inultae* (*Aen.* 4.659), Dido has similarly sought vengeance before her death, from Pygmalion for killing her husband (cf. 4.656 *ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*), and from Aeneas and his descendants, through the curse

addressed to the *Dirae ultrices* (4.610) and other gods, which culminates in the birth of an *ultor* (625, i.e. Hannibal). Lavinia's role here ironically fulfils the words of the Dido of *Ep.* 7, in particular the sarcasm of verse 17 *alter amor tibi restat et altera Dido*; cf. also 22 *unde tibi, quae te sic amet, uxor erit?*

**639–42 nox erat:** a regular introduction to nocturnal scenes. Usually an ecphrasis of night follows, but in this concise narrative O. reduces the formulation to the single phrase. Previously in the *Fasti* the night introduced so has been the setting for violent action: at 1.421 Priapus tries to rape Lotis, at 2.792 the young Tarquinius rapes Lucretia. Lavinia's attack on Anna might seem to be imminent therefore; but instead O. continues with a different pattern, found in the *Aeneid* – a supernatural visitation: cf. *Aen.* 3.147 (the Penates to Aeneas), 8.26 (the god Tiberinus to Aeneas), as well as *Pont.* 3.3.5 (Cupid to Ovid), Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.1080–9. The appearance of Hector's ghost to Aeneas at *Aen.* 2.268 begins in a similar but less direct fashion: *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris | incipit. nox erat* also introduces an ecphrasis at *Aeneid* 4.522: this leads on to Dido, but the scene is a realistic one of sleeplessness. **ante torum uisa est astare** brings together diction from various (mainly nocturnal) visions: *Aen.* 3.150 (the Penates to Aeneas) *uisi ante oculos astare*, Prop. 3.10.2 (the Muses) *ante meum stantes ... torum*; *Met.* 9.687–8 *ante torum ... aut stetit aut uisa est*, 11.655 (Ceyx to Alcyone) *ante torum miserae stetit*, 15.653–4 (Aesculapius) *consistere uisus | ante tuum, Romane, torum*. This is the standard Homeric account of dreams, in which a character visualizes the ghost or god coming to their bedroom with advice or warning (e.g. *Il.* 23.65–8, *Od.* 6.20–1). *uisa est* recalls the previous manifestation of Dido at 564, and begins a sequence of distancing auxiliaries (*creditur*, 648; *uisa est* 653). **squalenti Dido sanguinolenta coma:** ghosts regularly retain at least something of their state at death: thus 5.457 *umbra cruenta Remi uisa est assistere lecto*, and the waterlogged image of the drowned Ceyx at *Met.* 11.655–6; but this particularly recalls Hector, *squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis | uulneraque ... gerens* at *Aen.* 2.277–8, and the form in which Dido foresees her ghost appearing to the storm-tossed Aeneas at *Ep.* 7.70 *tristis et effusus sanguinolenta comis*. At 2.6.37–40 Tibullus hopes that Nemesis, his hard-hearted *puella*, can avoid visitations from her dead sister:

ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia Manes,  
maestaque sopitae stet soror ante torum,  
qualis ab excelsa praeceps delapsa fenestra  
uenit ad infernos sanguinolenta lacus.

This too is apparently in Ovid's mind: as well as the diction of 38 and 40, cf. 643. **et ... dicere:** this continues the structure from *uisa est*



*astare*. **fuge ... fuge**: repetition again figures the repetitive nature of Anna's story. The sister whose exile she has accompanied from Tyre urges her to flee again, not from Pygmalion or Iarbas this time, or even Aeneas, but rather from the vengeful Lavinia. In the *Aeneid* flight has been the advice of the ghosts of Sychaeus (1.357), Hector (*heu fuge* are his first words, 2.289), Creusa (2.780), and Polydorus (3.44 *heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum*), as well as the Penates (3.160–1) and Mercury (4.565). **ne dubita** 'don't hesitate', but also an ironic echo of Aeneas' phrase ('don't doubt it') when reassuring Andromache that he is not a ghost at *Aen.* 3.316. The use of *ne* + imperative is common in early Latin and poetry: *OLD* 1. **sub uerbum** 'immediately after the speech' (*OLD sub* 24); *uerbum* is not commonly used in the collective singular (but see *OLD* 5b, 7). **querulas impulit aura fores** 'a breeze struck the doors and made them creak' (*querulas* is proleptic): a spooky end to the ghost's visit, and a realistic explanation for Anna's sudden waking.

**643–6 uelox**: for the adverbial usage, cf. *Met.* 2.818, 4.352. **humili suspensa fenestra | se iacit** 'hanging from the low window she throws herself out'. *suspensa* is a conjecture (Delz 1994: 90–1), where the transmission offers either the nonsensical *super ausa* (cf. *aura* in 642 and *audacem* in 644) or *super arua* (probably an attempted correction: it describes where Anna runs before she is even clear of the window); among other possibilities are *prolapsa* (A-W-C) and *soror usa*. The window is a realistic detail that recalls the adultery mime (McKeown 1979: 75–6); it also sets up a contrast with the sister of Nemesis in Tibullus 2.6 (cited on 640), whose fall from a high window leads to death – Anna's more circumspect departure leads to immortality. **audacem fecerat ipse timor**: Anna again matches Aeneas, *Tartareas ausus adire domos* in 620 (and cf. 617). For the notion that fear makes bold, cf. *Trist.* 1.4.4 *audaces cogimur esse metu*, Livy 21.56.5 *aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit*. **quaque metu rapitur ... currit**: for *quaque* continuing a narrative of movement, cf. *Met.* 2.202–4 *per auras | ignotae regionis eunt, quaque impetus egit, | hac sine lege ruunt*, *Epicedion Drusi* 373 *quaque ruit funibunda ruit*. *rapitur* describes rapid movement, especially caused by a lack of self-control (cf. 4.457 *Ceres mentis inops rapitur*). **tunica uelata recincta**: she has jumped out just wearing the unbelted tunic she was sleeping in – a realistic detail that again makes a link with Ariadne, *Ars* 1.529 *utque erat e somno tunica uelata recincta* (cf. 604 n.). But the phrase also connects with the elegiac mistress (Murgatroyd 2005: 261), recalling sexually charged scenes in the *Amores*: at 1.5.9 *Corinna uenit, tunica uelata recincta*; at 3.7.81 the unnamed but beautiful *puella* eventually *desiluit tunica uelata soluta*; and in 3.1 *Elegia* recounts some of the skills she has taught (49–52):

per me decepto didicit custode Corinna  
 liminis astricti sollicitare fidem,  
 delabique toro tunica uelata soluta  
 atque impercussos nocte mouere pedes.

In context this echo gives a twist to the narrative: Anna is in part behaving like a character in an elegy or an adultery mime, on her way to a nocturnal assignation – until the simile of the pentameter restores an epic tone.

**647–8** The river Numicius (or Numicus) is usually identified with the modern Rio Torto, north of Ardea (Tilly 1936); but it may have been closer to Lavinium, and now lost as a result of hydrological changes (an ironic outcome, if so, given 654). It was associated with the arrival of the Trojans in Latium (it is one of the first places explored by them at *Aen.* 7.150, *haec fontis stagna Numici*), and with Aeneas' death (Sisenna, *FRHist* 26F3 *iuxtim Numicium flumen obtruncatur*; Servius, *Aen.* 1.259), burial (Livy 1.2.6 *situs est ... super Numicum flumen: Iouem indigetem appellant*; Plin. *Nat.* 3.57), and deification: Tibullus 2.5.43–4 *illic sanctus eris, cum te ueneranda Numici | unda deum caelo miserit indigetem*. Cf. in particular *Met.* 14.598–604 (see e.g. Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 959):

litus adit [*Venus*] Laurens, ubi tectus harundine serpit  
 in freta flumineis uicina Numicius undis.  
 hunc iubet Aeneae quaecumque obnoxia morti  
 abluere et tacito deferre sub aquora cursu;  
 corniger exsequitur Veneris mandata suisque  
 quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale repurgat  
 et respersit aquis.

Anna and Aeneas are thus deified in the same river in the same year (575–6 n.); the striking absence of Aeneas from the remainder of the narrative allows us to imagine it happens on the very same night. And the inscription attributed to his shrine at Dion. Hal. 1.64.5 actually equates him with the river god (πατὴρ θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ρεῦμα διέττει: ‘<Shrine> of the divine father *Indiges*, who presides over the flow of the river Numicius’). **corniger**: river gods are depicted with horns, either on the head (Virg. *Geo.* 4.371), or in the form of a cornucopia (*LIMC* ‘Tiberis’ 15–18), symbolizing the wildness of the river (Porphyrio on Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.25), or the fertility they bring. Both are featured in the second-century AD sculpture of a river god, presumably the Nile, from the Iseum on the Campus Martius (now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inventory 5976) and on a sarcophagus dated 260–70 now in the Metropolitan Museum (55.11.5). The horn broken from the head of Achelous becomes a cornucopia at *Met.* 9.85–8. Virgil applies the epithet *corniger* to Tiber at *Aen.* 8.77; O. to Numicius here and at *Met.* 14.602 (cited

above), thus tightening the link between the two passages. It links to three of the next four possible identities (657–60), and adds a further detail to the connexions with the previous narrative: Ariadne has talked about the horns of Bacchus (499–500), the god by whom she is elevated to divinity. **tumidis ... undis**: again Anna is faced by ‘swollen waters’ (595); the epithet suggests how she came to drown, while hinting at the god’s erotic excitement: cf. the aroused Faunus at 2.346 *tumidum cornu durius inguen erat*. Some MSS (and editors) read *cupidis*, but that offers nothing that *tumidis* does not imply. **rapuisse**: the verb is used of drowning (e.g. *Met.* 1.311 *maxima pars unda rapitur*) but it more often indicates carrying off for sexual purposes (e.g. 203, 207, 217; 2.139, 4.607–9, 5.699, 6.43). The verb recurs at 701, where again it marks a moment of deification.

**649–50 Sidonis**: the antonomasia is used in telling of the death of Dido at *Met.* 14.80. Sidon was the mother-city of Tyre (627 n.) and the two are regularly treated as alternatives by Latin poets. **interea magno clamore per agros | quaeritur**: though she is the grammatical subject the narrative diverts attention away from Anna, but not back to Aeneas or Lavinia; rather it returns us to the general crowd that engages in the hubbub of the festival, *per herbas* (525). It is left open what motivates the search: are the locals concerned for Anna’s well being, or that she may escape their clutches? The story pattern in which the god provides succour, marriage, and deification for the maiden in distress suggests that she is in danger: cf. Bacchus rescuing Ariadne when she is abandoned by Theseus, and particularly the river Anio offering a home to Ilia at *Am.* 3.6.45–82 (604 n.). And yet in Catullus 64 it is Bacchus and his band that seek Ariadne (*te quaerens*, 253), and noisily too (255–64; cf. *Ars* 1.537–8). Even the reaction to Anna’s divine epiphany at 655–6 leaves this ambiguous. A further complexity is that, in a tale told by Dion. Hal. (1.70.1–3), Lavinia herself hides out of fear of Ascanius, and is only revealed when the people search for her. **apparent signa notaeque pedum**: cf. the start of Ceres’ search for Persephone at 4.463 *inde puellaris nacta est uestigia plantae*, though there the *signa* have been disturbed by pigs (466) and discovery takes till 584. The implication is that the tracks have been made by Anna’s feet, but Aeneas has been wandering barefoot round his kingdom (604) too. For the tautology cf. *Ep.* 19.36 *adsuetae signa notamque viae*.

**651–4 sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas** ‘the complicit river held up his waters and produced silence’: *tacitas* is proleptic, expressing the effect of *sustinuit*. *consci*us may imply awareness (*Met.* 3.290, 4.63) or guilt (2.100, *Ep.* 21.47) or both (*Am.* 2.7.11; *Ep.* 7.191 *soror Anna, meae male conscia culpa*). **placidi ... Numici**: admission of Anna has calmed the swollen river. **nympha** ‘nymph’, but also ‘bride’ (*OLD* 2); Parroni 2010: 151 adduces *Ep.* 1.27; for similar ambiguity in the Greek equivalent,

cf. Callimachus, *Aet.* fr. 66.2 (and Harder *ad loc.*). For a divine voice asserting apotheosis after disappearance, cf. the story of Romulus/Quirinus at 2.491–512. **amne perennē:** though the normal form of ablative for third-declension adjectives is in *-ī*, O. occasionally employs the alternative (e.g. *perenne* again at *Ep.* 8.64; *bimenstrē*, *Fasti* 6.158). The phrase echoes Ennius, *Scipio* fr. 31 (cited at Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.2.26) *constitere amnes perennes* (in a moment of universal stillness and silence, apparently for a solemn announcement). Despite *latens* (which itself evokes the etymology of Latium: cf. 1.238, *Aen.* 8.322–3) the claimed etymology is made very obvious; though it has attracted scorn (cf. Porte 1971: 282), it is both elegant and significant. Anna's drowning in the ever-flowing river has immortalized her: as a result of the union *amnis* becomes *Anna*, and she becomes *perennis*. The perennial river symbolizes the ever-flowing nature of time, and thus of the goddess of the year. O. links the two concepts directly at *Met.* 15.179–81 *ipsa quoque assiduo labuntur tempora motu, | non secus ac flumen; neque enim consistere flumen | nec levis hora potest* (there is irony in the fact that the Numicius has ceased flowing while Anna speaks), and implicitly at *Am.* 3.6.98, when he asks the stream that blocks his path *quis dixit grata uoce, perennis eas?* and at 6.771–80, where *tempora labuntur* introduces the festival of Fors Fortuna, also held on the banks of the Tiber (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012: 216–20). The meaning of Anna's name is brought out explicitly by Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.6 *ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur, ut annare perennareque commode liceat* (Porte 1971 speculates that the imperatives *anna* and *perenna* were the source of the name). **Anna Perenna uocor:** cf. 1.127 *inde uocor Ianus* (and 130), 5.195 *Chloris eram quae Flora uocor*. She announces cult practice as already accomplished (O. could have written the jussive *uocer*).

**655–6 protinus:** the echo of 551 encloses the story (Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 941), and so does *erratis*, which looks back to 543 and picks up a repeated theme. The rest of the couplet then returns to themes of the introduction to the festival: *laeti* = *geniale* (523); *in agris* = *per herbas* (525); *largo ... mero* = 531–4. The explanation of Anna's identity culminates in an aetiology for the informal ritual with which the goddess is still celebrated. The pace of events obscures the gaps in narrative logic: why are the searchers happy? why have they brought wine with them? They seem to have turned in an instant from historical figures by the Numicius to worshippers on the banks of another river, celebrating the fact that Latium has a new divinity. The inconsequential ending may again recall mime: cf. Cic. *Cael.* 65 'it is the end not of a proper play, but of a mime; in which, when a neat conclusion can't be found, someone escapes (*fugit aliquis e manibus*), then the clappers sound and the curtain closes'. **uescuntur:** there has been no mention of eating in the earlier account of the festival, but the other

similarities encourage the reader to supply this further detail too. Food will be important in the story to be told at 663–74. **celebrant ... rem-que diemque** ‘they celebrate the event and the day’: they immediately institute the recurrent ceremony that commemorates Anna’s deification each year; by implication the day is that of the first full moon of spring. For *res* and *dies* as objects of *celebrare* cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4 *quae res* (‘this coincidence’) *animaduversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est*, Livy 34.61.5 *primo in circulis conuiuuiisque celebrata sermonibus res est*; and 229 *diem quae prima mea est celebrare*; Trist. 4.10.12. *rem* is Merkel’s conjecture for *se* (confirmed by the phrase *remque diemque* in a similar passage of Lactantius’ poem on the *Phoenix*, at 154).

### 657–74: Anna Perenna: other identities

After the long account of the Carthaginian Anna, O. returns to the question of the goddess’s identity raised in 543–4. Though the first narrative has been given weight by its length, both Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2012: 213) and Tronchet (2014: n. 117) have pointed to growing signs of uncertainty near the end: *creditur* (648), the suggestive *uestigia* in 651, *loqui uisa est* (653). The first four alternatives are listed in four lines (657–60): the moon, Themis, Io, and an Arcadian nymph form a miscellany that challenges the reader to seek connexions. After this group of cosmic and primeval deities, the final possibility, Anna of Bovillae, is a figure from the history of Rome as a republic (661–74).

**657–60** Though the four identities seem an incoherent bunch, there are significant areas of contact between them. The moon and Themis help the measuring out of time; they are thus both suppliers of sustenance, as are Isis, and, explicitly, both the Arcadian nymph and Anna of Bovillae. Io, being the daughter of a river, is akin to the other nymphs identified as Anna (653, 659); she is also associated with the Nile, the archetypal fertilizing and perennial river – it is where her labours end at *Met.* 1.728–43. Horns link the Numicius (of which Anna has become a nymph), the moon, Io as a cow, and the first food given to Jupiter, which was presented in the broken horn of a nymph’s nanny according to the tale at 5.111–28: this may imply something about the iconography of Anna. **Luna ... quia mensibus impleat annum**: as if Anna’s name came from the combination of *annus* and *luna*, symbolizing the calendar, which combines months into the year. The subjunctive shows that the reasoning is attributed to those who think Anna is the moon. The cycles of the moon are associated with the fertility of the seasons at Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.39–40, Sen. *Ben.* 4.23.1, and in Catullus’ hymn to Diana, 34.17–20 *tu cursu, dea, menstruo | metiens iter annuum, | rustica agricolae bonis | tecta frugibus explēs*; which O. evokes with his echoes. **Themis**, Greek accusative of

*Themis*, a figure of divine order, mother of the Horae ('Seasons') according to Hesiod, *Theog.* 901, Pindar, fr. 30, Pausanias 5.17.1, and sometimes the wife of Jupiter. However, at Hyginus, *Astr.* 2.13.3 *Musaeus autem dicit Iouem nutritum a Themide et Amalthea nympa, quibus eum mater Ops tradidisse existimatur*, the name is given to the god's nurse, a link with the next couplet. In the *Metamorphoses* Themis appears as an oracular voice (1.318–83, 4.643, 9.403–19); and Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 identifies her with Carmentis, the mother of Evander, who migrates with her son to Rome and prophetically celebrates her new homeland and its gods (*Fasti* 1.461–586, 6.529–50). **Inachiam ... bouem**: the tribulations of Io, daughter of the river-god Inachus, are described at length in *Met.* 1.588–746 (there were many earlier versions, including *Prometheus Bound* 561–686 and lost tragedies; and e.g. Moschus, *Europa* 44–61): she is raped by Jupiter, and then transformed into a heifer before Juno can catch them together; when Mercury kills Argus, Juno's unsleeping watchman, Io is driven mad-dened around the world till she reaches the bank of the Nile and Jupiter at last softens Juno's anger, and in answer to Io's prayer changes her back into the form of a nymph, who thus becomes the Egyptian goddess Isis. Her worship spread from Alexandria, and became important in Rome and across the empire (see e.g. Turcan 1996: 75–129). Wiseman 1998: 66–7 gathers together the evidence that suggests some accounts brought Io to Rome too. Isis is an object of devotion for the elegists and their mistresses (e.g. *Am.* 2.13.7–18, Tib. 1.3.23–32, Prop. 2.33A), but the fullest accounts of her powers and cult come in texts of the second century AD, Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride* and book 11 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where the goddess, honoured as a combination of many other divinities, first manifests to Lucius as the moon, and her headdress is described as *argumentum lunae* (11.3.4). **inuenies**: a teasing continuation from the previous line: Isis traditionally searches for the body of her husband Osiris. **nymphen Azanida**: O. uses the Greek (1.435; 5.123, 197, 246; 6.107) and Latin (261–2, 653, e.g.) forms *nympha/e* for metrical convenience; the Greek accusative *nymphen* is nowhere else required by the metre, but editors print it at *Met.* 14.333, and Germ. *Arat.* 322 *Atlantida nymphen* (Amphitrite). *Azanis* is a name for Arcadia (or the northern part of it) used by Callimachus, at *Hymn* 1.20, in the narrative of Zeus' birth (443–4 n.), and restored to O. by Alton (1926: 113–14) here and at *Trist.* 1.11.15 *Azanidos ursae* (the Arcadian Callisto). The form thus suits the context here, as well as containing the opening syllable of Anna's name. Commentators usually identify the nymph as Hagno, an Arcadian water nymph (described by Pausanias 8.38.3 as producing consistent amounts of water throughout the year, and thus an *amnis perennis*). Stories about Arcadian or Cretan nymphs providing the early sustenance for Zeus/Jupiter appear at e.g. 443–4, 5.111–28, Call. *Hymn* 1.32–51; cf. 769.

**661–74:** Anna of Bovillae

Nothing else is known of this Anna. The story seems to serve as an action for old women serving *liba* at the festival (669–72), as they will at the Liberalia two days later (763–6; 713–90 n.). Harrison 1993 shows that it shares a number of details with Callimachus' *Hecale* (another old woman whose assistance is commemorated with divine honours). Bovillae was an ancient city on the Via Appia, 11 miles south east of Rome, a base of the *gens Iulia* (cf. 430 n.), and the place where Milo killed Clodius in 52 BC. It is thus potentially a place of political significance. Harrison 1993: 457 argues that the emphasis on a Rome without tribunes (663) creates a contrast with the security provided by Augustus' tribunician *potestas* (*Res Gestae* 4.4, 10.1). In other respects, however, Augustus is like Anna: as a Julian he hails from Bovillae, and he also makes proud claims in the *Res Gestae* about his provision of corn in time of need (5.2; cf. 18): 'I did not decline to manage the corn supply [*annona*] during a very severe grain shortage, and I administered it in such a way that within a few days I freed the entire community from pressing fear and danger through my expenditure and supervision' (Cooley 2009). Yet there is conflict between the moments of analogy (what need of an Anna if the *plebs* are protected by Augustus?), and the equation of the *princeps* and the old woman distributing cakes is potentially comic (even without reading on to 675–96). More plausible perhaps is Wiseman's suggestion (1998: 73–4) that the origin in Bovillae is intended to explain the bovine element in Anna (657–60).

**661–2 *quam referam*:** cf. 4.689–90 *haec narrare solebat, | unde meum praesens instrueretur opus* of the host/innkeeper who tells the tale of the vixen of Carseoli; here by contrast we are not told the source of the story. **fama, nec a ueri dissidet illa fide:** though Wiseman 1998: 74 talks of 'the aetiological myth Ovid insists on as true', this does not do justice to the phrasing, which first describes the story as owed to word of mouth (*fama*) and then adds 'nor is it far from the credibility of truth', i.e. 'it is plausible'.

**663–6** For general accounts of the first secession of the *plebs* (conventionally dated to 494 BC), see Livy 2.22–33, Dion. Hal. 6.22–90: grievances are said to have included the treatment of debtors (Cic. *Rep.* 2.58; Sall. *Hist.* 1.11) and the excessive power of the patricians (Asconius 76C; Sall. *Hist.* 1.11), especially in imposing military service. **uetus:** 'of old' (*OLD* 5), as at 434. **nullis etiam nunc tuta tribunis:** the condition on which the *plebs* return is the establishment of the sacrosanct tribunes who can uphold their interests against the consuls (Livy 2.33.1–2). **fugit:** the *plebs* are driven from the city by the arbitrary assertion of power; they are thus like the Carthaginian Anna (555–65, 577–80, 637–46) – and Ovid himself (*Trist.* 1.5.66, e.g.). A comic equivalent is the secession

of the pipers at 6.665-84. **in Sacri uertice Montis:** the Mons Sacer lay three miles north east of Rome between the river Anio and the Via Nomentana (Cicero, *Brut.* 54; Livy 3.52.3). It may be significant that an equivalent Greek phrase (Ἱεράν ... κορυφήν, 'the holy peak') is given by Pausanias 8.38.2 as an alternative name for Mount Lycaeus, the site of the spring Hagno (cf. 659-60). **quem secum tulerant defecerat illos** | **uictus:** Livy mentions the supplies taken to the Mons Sacer (*rem nullo nisi necessariam ad uictum sumendo*, 2.32.4), but in his account they remain there only *per aliquot dies* (2.32.4) and mutual anxiety brings about reconciliation before the food is exhausted. However, corn supplies become the point of contention in the aftermath (2.34-5): during the secession Rome's fields had been left fallow; corn was sought from Etruria, elsewhere in Latium, and Sicily. When stocks arrive from Sicily two years later, Coriolanus argues in the senate that it should be provided for the *plebs* only on condition that the power to have tribunes be given up (*si annonam ... ueterem uolunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus*, 2.34.9); alternatively they may secede again and live on what they seize from the land (*patet uia in Sacrum montem aliosque colles; rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. fruantur annona quam furore suo fecere*, 2.34.10). But the will of the people asserts itself and he is forced into exile. **et:** an epexegetic usage (*OLD* 11), adding a phrase that clarifies *uictus*. **Ceres:** concentration on corn supply (cf. 672) implies yet another etymological link, between *Anna* and *annona* (Usener 1875: 208-9). The use of the divine metonym for corn is pointed here: the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine was associated with the *plebs* (512, 785-6 nn.), and provided corn to the poor (Spaeth 1996: 39-41); the property of anyone who violated the sanctity of a tribune was consecrated to the goddess (Dion. Hal. 6.89.3, Livy 3.55.7).

**667-74 orta suburbanis ... Bouillis:** Anna's origin is south of Rome (661-74 n.) and thus (despite *suburbanis* 'close to the city') some distance from the *Mons Sacer*: like the sister of Dido (*orta Tyro*, 631) she seems to have moved home. The adjective is applied to *Bouillae* already at Prop. 4.1.33 *suburbanae ... minus ... Bouillae*, in an account of how unimaginably different Rome used to be when it was small. **pauper, sed multae sedulitatis anus:** Callimachus' Hecale too is old (fr. 40.5 Hollis), poor (fr. 41), but kind to travellers (fr. 2, 80). *anus* resumes the etymological connexion with *Anna* hinted at in 542. **leui mitra canos incincta capillos:** for the construction of the participle with ablative and 'retained' accusative, cf. *uelati tempora uittis*, 861. Like the white hair, the *mitra* symbolizes the old (or the oriental) woman. But the three other figures in the Ovidian corpus who wear it are actually counterfeiting the role, Ceres in Eleusis at 4.517, Vertumnus urging his suit on Pomona at



*Met.* 14.654, Hercules when wearing the dress of Omphale at *Ep.* 9.63: we might wonder therefore whether this beneficent figure is a goddess in disguise (perhaps Ceres herself). **liba:** cf. 725–36. **atque ita** ‘and having done this’, as at e.g. 365. **fumantia** ‘piping hot’, still smoking or steaming from the oven. **per populum ... populo copia grata:** the repetition brings out the reciprocal relationship: she helps the people and they are grateful. The next couplet inverts the order: they immortalize her because she helped them. **pace domi facta** ‘when peace was made back in Rome’: the secession is treated as equivalent to armed combat, and *domi* has the force it takes in phrases such as *bellique domique* (*Met.* 12.185); cf. *Met.* 15.747–8 *bella ... finita triumphis | resque domi gestae*. **signum posuere perenne** ‘they put up a lasting image’: an action for a statue that is otherwise unknown, but presumably in the shrine a mile from the city gate (523–42 n.), and also an action for the goddess’ name: as she helped the *plebs* to survive, so they make a perennial image of Anna. **defectis** ‘when they were weak’, but perhaps playing on the sense of the active *deficere*, *OLD* 10, ‘to defect’. **opem:** aid to those in need is a repeated theme of the earlier Anna story: Battus has offered help at 569–72, but is overwhelmed by the superior *opes* of Pygmalion (574); Aeneas provides a refuge to Anna, whose *opes* he has consumed when himself in need (630; cf. also 594).

#### 675–96: Anna Perenna: obscene performances

Before the eventual acknowledgement of the other significance of the Ides of March (697–710), O. reverts to sexual aspects of the day: girls sing obscene songs to commemorate Anna’s tricking of Mars when he asks her to act as a *lena*, a go-between in securing him the favours of Minerva. As commonly elsewhere in *Fasti* dramatic performance is evoked, and there may be specific allusion to Laberius’ mime (523–696 n.). On the carnivalesque atmosphere of Anna’s festival, see 523–42 n., Lamacchia 1958, Newlands 1996.

**675–8 nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellae, | dicere** ‘Now it remains for me to say why girls sing rude songs’: for the dislocated word order cf. 795 n. *superest* is used to introduce a further lesson to be taught at 1.233, 6.693. **coeunt certaue probra canunt:** it is unclear what precisely is being described here: *coeunt* implies a chorus, and *certa* (‘fixed’) repeated ritual (333), in contrast to 535 *cantant quidquid didicere theatris*. Yet the following story, which makes a credible scene from a mime, has no expressed function for a chorus; and one would expect dramas to vary from year to year. Conceivably the chorus of girls sang a kind of ribald epithalamium to accompany the entry of Mars’ *quasi*-bride (a combination of Catullus 62 and the fescennine verses of 61.114–46;

cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.145–8). Wiseman 1998: 72–4 sees the story as not only modelled on mimetic plots, but drawn (along with the Anna of Bovillae episode) from Laberius' *Anna Peranna*. **nuper erat dea facta**: there is a sense of progress (Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 960): both the narratives have ended with deification (653–4, 673). But we do not at first know whether the Anna in question is the sister of Dido, who is attractive enough to arouse Lavinia's jealousy, or the grey-haired old woman with shaking hands (669–70). **uenit Gradius ad Annam**: as at 169 the use of the military *Gradius* is at odds with the generic affiliations of the narrative: this is, or should be, an erotic tale, as the pairing of the names may imply, and *uenit* too, given the etymological association of the verb with *Venus* (Cicero, *D.N.D.* 3.62 *Venus quia uenit ad omnia*); cf. Cat. 61.18, 195; *Am.* 1.5.9 *ecce, Corinna uenit*, 1.6.13 *uenit amor*.

**679–84 mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum**: Mars begins by stressing his close connexion with Anna. The chiasmus places their actions side by side; his *tempora* are literally conjoined to *tecum*. The phrasing seems to be leading up to a suggestion that he and Anna be joined, as *coniuges* (cf. 511): after all, if their *tempora* lie side by side, why not their heads (cf. 481, 861)? Goddesses are beautiful, and Anna may have eternal youth to go with her immortality. The careless folly of his approach sets him up for his fall. But at the same time his words do O.'s bidding, and reconfirm the calendrical point made at 145–6. **pendet ab officio ... tuo**: Mars thinks he does her a *beneficium* in giving her a place in his month, and thus expects an *officium* in return. But still she might think that his hopes are for her, especially as *officium* has a sexual sense (*OLD* 1c, Adams 1987: 163–4). For the construction *pendet ab*, cf. 356. **armifer armiferae**: another significant juxtaposition, but a generically inept one, as Mars overwhelms *amor* with *arma*; more appropriate to the festival of Anna Perenna is the *potum pota* of 542. At the start of the book O. has pointed out to the god that Minerva is skilled in the *ingenuae artes* as well as war (5–8), but, as this speech shows, despite 173–6 Mars has no accomplishment in the arts of peace. *armifer* appears first in O., who uses it nine times (of Minerva at 6.421, *Am.* 2.6.35, *Met.* 14.475, *Trist.* 4.10.13). **correptus amore Minervae**: *correptus* ('taken possession of') is used elsewhere to describe the effect of love (e.g. 6.575 *correpta cupidine*, *Met.* 3.416, 4.676, 9.455) and of fire (*Met.* 1.257; *OLD* 1d), but it is characteristic of Mars that he chooses a word of violence (*OLD* 1, 3, 4). As at 9–10 he has been captivated by a virginal figure, but the goddess is better protected than the Vestal. **uror**: here at least he adopts the language of elegy: lovers use the form at *Am.* 1.1.26, 2.4.12, *Ep.* 7.23, 15.9, 16.10, 18.167, *Tib.* 2.4.6. **longo tempore**: 134 n. As Hinds 1992: 99–101 points out, Mars' love seems to have been engendered by O. at the start

of the book – not a very long time before. **uulnus:** again Mars easily adopts the language of *militia amoris*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.1–2 *regina graui iam dudum saucia cura | uulnus alit*. **effice ... coeamus in unum:** in the denouement Anna will bring it about that Mars and another share a bed; but she jokingly treats the first person plural as implying ‘I and you’ rather than ‘I and Minerva’. O. has parataxis after *effice* also at 6.379–80 *putentur | effice, Rem.* 31, *Met.* 11.102, *Pont.* 3.3.63. **di studio similes:** as Mars has acknowledged at the start, Anna and he share a calendrical interest: his phrasing invites her to misinterpret the interest he shares with Minerva. **conueniunt partes hae tibi** ‘this role suits you’, hinting at the dramatic origin of the encounter with a mature go-between (Merli 2000: 64), but with a suggestive subtext, as at *Am.* 2.15.26 *peragam partes anulus ille uiri* (‘as the ring I shall play the part of a man’); for *partes* of the genitalia, see 4.240 (male), *Rem.* 429, *Met.* 13.479 (both female); Adams 1987: 45. **comis anus:** for the vocative, cf. 6.415, where Ovid uses *anus optima* in thanking the knowledgeable old woman for her history lesson, and Tib. 1.6.63 *uiue diu mihi, dulcis anus* (addressed to Delia’s mother). But *anus* is also used by O. to describe the *lena* whose influence he has to combat (*Am.* 1.8.2 *Dipsas anus*, 3.5.40), and Wiseman 1998: 73 sees Mars here playing the role of the wealthy soldier, the elegist’s rival (*Am.* 1.8.23–34; Prop. 1.8, 2.16, 4.5.49–58). *comis* was glossed *officiosus* at Cic. *Inu.* 1.35; cf. *Fin.* 2.80 *comis in amicis tuendis*; but it can also be used of the beloved, as at *Am.* 2.19.16, *Ars* 2.177.

**685–8 promisso ... inani:** cf. *Ep.* 10.116 (cf. *Ars* 1.740) *data poscenti, nomen inane, fides, Met.* 7.336 (Medea deceiving the daughters of Pelias) *nec spes agitatis inanes*, 11.576 *reditusque sibi promittit inanes* (though Alcyone does not deliberately deceive herself). **ludit:** for such laugh-provoking trickery, cf. 2.357 *ueste deus lusus* (Faunus when trying to rape Omphale); at *Am.* 1.3.22 *quam fluminea lusit adulter aue* (and similarly 1.10.4, *Ep.* 17.45) the trickery is done by the philandering Jupiter; at *Met.* 3.403 Narcissus had tantalized and misled (*luserat*) Echo and other lovers. The theme continues in 692–6. **stultam ... spem:** what for Mars was *spes magna* in 680 is reasonably exposed as folly here: the virgin goddess known for her sponsorship of craft and art is not going to accede to the hamfisted, indirect approaches of a Mars. **trahit:** a pointed repetition of the verb from 542 *senem ... trahebat anus*. **mora:** a key elegiac concept: cf. e.g. *Ars* 2.349–57, Tib. 1.8.73–4 for the use of *mora* as a way of provoking *amor*. **mandata peregrinus:** a claim Anna can properly make given the ambiguity of Mars’ instructions in 679–84. **euicta est: precibus uix dedit illa manus:** Anna nicely imitates, and mocks, Mars, in using the language of war to express the submission (*OLD manus* gd). No name is spoken, and we may note that *illa* has last been used of Anna herself (685).

**689–92 thalamos** ‘bedchamber’, but regularly a metonym for marriage (553 n.). **deducitur** also contributes to the evocation of a formal wedding (*OLD* 10b) – and to the imminent drop in stylistic level (cf. 151 n.). **tegens uultus**: cf. Lucan 2.360–1, and the fake wedding at the end of Plautus, *Casina*. **noua nupta**: Gellius 13.23 mentions a wife of Mars called Nerio, a Minerva-like figure (850 n., Porphyrio on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.209), but Anna’s ruse makes for a rather different couple: the combination here with the old woman in control of the laughable man is more like the *pompa* of 542 (cf. Newlands 1996: 330–2). **Mars aspicit Annam**: the repetition of Anna’s name brings out the dramatic effect. The reader, and in performance the audience, knows this is Anna not Minerva, but for Mars the lifting of the veil provides the moment of revelation. **nunc pudor elusum, nunc subit ira deum**: the anaphora of *nunc* marks the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction (*subit elusum deum* is to be taken in each clause), and the alternation of emotions (which we may imagine as hilariously excessive). Contrast 241–2, where each *nunc* refers to the same period.

**693–6 ridet**: Anna’s laughter leads the reaction of the implied audience. The laughter recalls that of the gods who gather to witness Ares/Mars and Aphrodite/Venus in bed together, ensnared by the chains of Hephaestus/Vulcan: *Odyssey* 8.326, *Ars* 2.585, *Met.* 4.188. In this case ‘laughter-loving’ Venus (φιλομμειδῆς even at *Od.* 8.362) enjoys the joke too (694 echoes *Am.* 1.9.40 *notior in caelo fabula nulla fuit*); but Mars is once again the butt of the ridicule. **amatorem canae ... Mineruae** ‘the lover of a grey-haired Minerva’, i.e. not Minerva, but the *anus* Anna: for this kind of riddling expression, where an adjective indicates a substitution for what might have been expected, cf. 56, *Met.* 8.668–9 *omnia fictilibus; post haec caelatus eodem | sistitur argento crater* (i.e. an earthenware bowl, not silver at all), Hendry 1995: 587–8. In most of the manuscripts *canae* has been corrupted to *carae* by scribes not understanding the word-play. **noua diua**: Anna Perenna is both old and new, continuing time and the new year. **ioci ueteres**: *ueteres* (like *certa* at 676) suggests the jokes are ritually repeated: cf. 1.631 *ueteres ritus*; 5.421, 431; 6.692 *canere ad ueteres uerba iocosa modos*. **inde ... obscenaque dicta canuntur**: the close of the aetiology (229 n.), echoing 675–6 *obscena ... canunt*. **iuuat hanc magno uerba dedisse deo** ‘there is delight in her tricking [*OLD* *uerbum* 6] of the mighty deity’. When accusative + inf. follows *iuuat*, the accusative normally functions also after *iuuat*; but cf. *Am.* 2.19.60 *me tibi riualet si iuuat esse* (‘if it pleases [*sc.* you] that I am your rival’). At this ignominious moment Mars disappears from the book (though war does not: Pasco-Pranger 2006: 205), whereas Minerva will be celebrated in 809–50 (but see 849–50 n.).

**697–710:** the assassination of Julius Caesar

After the drunken picnic and sexual jesting, and the varied accounts of the various Annas, O. is at last forced to turn to the day's other tradition (for the contrast, see e.g. Barchiesi 1997a: 129–30, Newlands 1996, Pfaff-Reydellet 2002). Julius Caesar, victor in the civil war against Pompey the Great and other senatorial leaders, *dictator*, Pontifex Maximus, and creator of the calendar that O. is here celebrating, was assassinated by a group of conspirators on 15th March 44 BC. On the timing (constrained by Caesar's plan to leave Rome on 18th March), see Horsfall 1974, Moles 1982. As with Anna (647–54) and Aeneas (647–8 n.), death is trumped by deification (Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 950–1). The passage matches the final transformation of the *Metamorphoses* (15.745–851), though there it is Venus (701 n.) rather than Vesta who is responsible for snatching away Caesar's soul and raising it to the stars.

**697–8 praeteriturus eram:** O. likes to draw attention to his use of *praeteritio*: cf. 4.574 *immensum est erratas dicere terras*: | *praeteritus Cereri nullus in orbe locus*; Ars 3.612 *praeteriturus eram*, Met. 4.284 *praetereo* (bringing a list to an end). Here there is more than narratological play. His stated intention to avoid the subject is an extraordinary choice, given Julius Caesar's part in formulating the *Fasti*, the fact that the Senate gave the day an official name (*Parricidium*, i.e. day of 'Treasonous Murder', Suet. *D.J.* 88) and the earnestness with which O. has treated the most laughable details of Anna Perenna's festival (not least the drunken procession: 541, *uisa est mihi digna relatu*). On the other hand he lends a serious tone to the account by putting it in the mouth of the chaste goddess Vesta – though it is left unclear whether he actually responds to her instruction, or leaves the words entirely to her (703 n.). **gladios in principe fixos:** a vivid encapsulation of the killing. *princeps* is a title less associated with Julius than Augustus: he uses it thrice in the *Res Gestae*, e.g. (13, 30.1, 32.3), and cf. 2.142 *nomen principis ille tenet*, 5.570 *a tantis princeps incipiendus erat*, of the supposed vowing of the temple of Mars Ultor before the battle of Philippi (5.569–78 is important for 705–10). For the phrasing cf. Met. 1.472 (Cupid shoots Daphne with the arrow tipped with lead) *hoc deus in nymphea Peneide fixit*. **a castis Vesta locuta focus,** i.e. from the hearth in her temple that is tended by the Vestal Virgins. The Vestalia took place on 9th June, when O. will emphasize Vesta's chastity (e.g. in the story about Priapus' attempted rape, 6.319–46); there she speaks only among fellow divinities (6.376); she is invisible to men (6.253–4), and there is no cult statue (6.295–8).

**699–702 ne dubita meminisse:** cf. Minerva's encouragement to Calliope to tell the story of Ceres and Proserpina at *Met.* 5.335 *ne dubita uestrumque mihi refer ordine carmen*. However, *meminisse* is ambiguous: context implies the sense 'mention' (*OLD* 5), but it can simply mean 'remember'. **meus fuit ille sacerdos:** on the Pontifex Maximus (706) as Vesta's priest, see 417–22 nn., and cf. 5.573 *Vestae ... sacerdos*. **sacri-legae ... manus:** *Am.* 1.7.28 has the same phrase of Ovid's own hands, which have dared to strike his *puella*. **me** picks up *meus*: the priest represents the deity, just as the cult statue may, or the tree that Erysichthon chops down (*Met.* 8.738–76; n.b. *sacrilegi*, 8.792, 817). **ipsa uirum rapui:** *rapere* (along with its compounds) is used of rescue (*Ep.* 6.135, *Met.* 14.355) and apotheosis (*Met.* 2.506, 9.271, 15.840); in particular, cf. *Met.* 15.844–6:

constitit alma Venus nulli cernenda suique  
Caesaris eripuit membris nec in aera solui  
passa recentem animam caelestibus intulit astris.

But O. frequently has *rapere* of rape (e.g. 203, 207; 2.139, 431; *Ep.* 5.132, 8.12, 16.153, 329, 349, 17.22–4; *Rem.* 775; *Met.* 7.697–9; cf. Newlands 1996: 335) as well as other aggressive acts. Pfaff-Reydellet 2002: 947 notes the link with *rapuisse* for the event that deifies Anna in 647; the action of the river there is as much a drowning and a sexual capture as it is a rescue and a deification. Especially with *nuda* following, the virgin goddess's language is very suggestive: she is supposed to have no contact with men. **simulacra:** Bömer notes the similarity to the situation in Euripides' *Helen* (based on the story in Stesichorus' *Palinode*), where Hermes, on Zeus' order, snatches away the real Helen to Egypt for safe-keeping, while Paris takes a phantom to Troy. **quae cecidit ferro Caesaris umbra fuit:** again the phrasing is both traditional and bizarre. At *Od.* 11.601–4 Odysseus explains that the Heracles seen in the underworld was a phantom (εἴδωλον) – while he himself enjoys life with the immortal gods; *umbra* ('shade') evokes such an explanation (which is then reinforced by the similar continuation in 703). On the other hand, the more sophisticated version of the underworld presented by Virgil in *Aeneid* 6 has firmly undone the notion that swords can inflict damage on shades, using the key words O. repeats here (6.290–4):

corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum  
Aeneas strictamque aciem uenientibus offert,  
et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore uitas  
admoneat uolitare caua sub imagine formae,  
inruat et frustra ferro diuerberet umbras.

**703–8** Editors treat these couplets as Ovid's response to Vesta. But as Barchiesi pointed out (1997a: 124), there is no marker that her words end or that the narrator's voice takes over. The poet had no reason to expect his text would appear with non-verbal indications of change of voice. This is therefore one of the passages that makes it desirable to edit the *Fasti* without inverted commas. **ille quidem caelo positus Iouis**

**atria uidit:** *quidem* marks a contrast (*OLD* 3), and can stand either in the first half of an antithetical pair (equivalent to the Greek μέν) or in the second (= δέ). If Vesta continues, the contrast mimics the analogous passage at *Od.* 11.602 εἶδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἄθανάτοισι θεοῖσι ... (' – a phantom; but he himself among the immortal gods ...'; cf. 702 n.): O. uses *ille* rather than *ipse* because of *ipsa* in 701. If the speech has ended, the contrast is with the conspirators in 705–7. *caelo positus* evokes the Caesarian comet into which his body transforms as it ascends in *Met.* 15.847–50. *Iouis atria uidit* recalls Daphnis, the pastoral avatar of Caesar at Virg. *Ecl.* 5.56–7 *candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi | sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis.*

**in magno templa dicata foro:** some remains of the temple of Diuus Julius are still visible at the eastern end of the Forum (*DAR* 139), looking towards the Capitol, as Jupiter predicts at *Met.* 15.841–2 *ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque | diuus ab excelsa prospectet Iulius aede.* Caesar's corpse was burned outside the Regia, his home as Pontifex Maximus, and the temple was built on the site of the pyre between 42 and 29 BC. **nefas** expresses the special wickedness of the murder of a priest (and future deity), as elsewhere for the murder of family members (2.44, *Am.* 3.6.49, *Met.* 8.483).

**prohibente deorum | numine:** Vesta, or Ovid, presents her action as having the support of the gods in general. There is a complex cross-reference to *Met.* 15.799–851, where Jupiter stops Venus rescuing Caesar, but encourages her to raise him to heaven, revealing that the deification has been ratified by the Fates. Divine power prevents the assassination, but not the pollution; this marvellous inconsistency leads on to the notion that the deaths of the conspirators were deserved, apparently with the connotation 'religiously appropriate'. As is said at 2.35–46, modern Rome has come a long way from the ancient belief that the pollution of *nefas* could be washed away with lustration in river water.

**testes estote:** places are called on to 'bear witness' to events that happened in their vicinity (2.273 *testis erit Pholoe, testes Stymphalides undae* [cf. Robinson *ad loc.*]; 4.69 *testes Laestrygonες exstant; Pont.* 4.9.114 *testis Pontica terra*; Tib. 1.7.11, *Epicedion Drusi* 386), sometimes in combination with people involved, even though they are long dead (6.765 *sint tibi Flaminius Trasimenaque litora testes*; Cat. 64.357–64). The unusual future imperative *estote* gives a grand tone to the address, but a potentially jocular one (Barchiesi 1997a: 128). **Philippi:** a town in eastern Macedonia where the army led by Mark Antony and Caesar's

heir, the future Augustus, defeated the forces of Brutus and Cassius, in two battles: Cassius committed suicide after the first, Brutus after the second. Prop. 2.1.27 describes it as *ciuilis busta*, and Virgil at *Geo.* 1.489–97 looks ahead to the time when the local ploughman will dig up weapons and look in amazement on the large bones of the dead soldiers (*grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris*). **quorum** implies a nominative pronoun like *illi* as the second subject of *estote*. However, though Brutus and Cassius were dead as a result of the battle, so were many others, from both armies. **sparsis ossibus albet humus**: a grim picture, repeating the scene outside the cave of the fire-breathing monster Cacus at 1.558 *ossibus albet humus* (McKeown 1984: 181). In that case Hercules appears as avenger (*ultor*, 562); here the vengeance (though described as *pietas* in 709) is what leaves the unburied bones. Cf. also Latinus' fears for Latium if the war with the Trojans continues (Virg. *Aen.* 12.36 *campique ingentes ossibus albert*), and Prop. 1.21.9–10 *dispersa ... ossa | montibus Etruscis* (the result of the young Caesar's siege of Perugia in 41–40 BC).

**709–10 hoc opus, haec pietas**: a heightened echo of the Sibyl's warning to Aeneas about the difficulties of escaping from the underworld (*Aen.* 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est*). **haec prima elementa fuerunt | Caesaris**: the Philippi campaign was one of the earliest military actions in which Augustus had been involved, and thus O. describes it as his 'elementary' education; but *elementa* are 'letters', and the first letters of *Caesaris* are *caes*-, the stem of words for killing (Barchiesi 1997a: 129). **ulcisci**: vengeance for Caesar is a return to a theme from *Met.* 15.819–25, and is revisited in the passage on Mars Ultor (5.569–78); the latter revives the bellicose Mars that book 3 has dismissed, esp. 5.575 *Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum*. Cf. the talk of vengeance in Aug. *R.G.* 2, Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.9.4. The verb has also appeared at 638: Augustus is thus aligned with the role of Lavinia in the Anna Perenna story (Lee-Stecum 2008: 90).

### 711–12: Scorpio

Scorpio is a large constellation (including Libra or *Chelae* ['the Claws']: cf. Virg. *Geo.* 1.33–5) and thus its periods of morning and evening rising and setting are prolonged. This gives O. reason to mention it also at 4.163–4 and 5.417–18; and at 5.541–4 he tells how Orion was catastrophized for defending Diana from the attack of a scorpion. In other accounts the scorpion that kills Orion explicitly becomes the constellation: Aratus, *Phaen.* 634–46, Hyginus, *Astr.* 2.26. On each occasion O. refers to a section of the body: the front here, the middle at 5.418 (*a media parte notandus erit*), the sting at 4.163 (*elatae metuendus acumine caudae*) and 5.542 (*curua spicula*). But the dangerous sting in the tail is always available to the



reading mind. Here we might note what Pliny says at *N.H.* 18.237 *Caesar et idus Mart. ferales sibi notauit scorpionis occasu* ('Caesar marked the Ides of March – the date that was fatal for him – with the setting of the Scorpion'). The morning setting is dated to the Ides also by Columella 11.2.30: a reasonably accurate date (Robinson 2007: 152); but O. apparently refers to the *rising* of the front portion (*a prima parte uidendus*), making this one of his more egregious errors (if we are reading the text correctly). **teneras aurora refecerit herbas** i.e. with the dew that collects during the night but is classically associated with dawn. *teneras* ('young') suggests the new growth of spring.

### 713–90 The Liberalia

This is the most important source for the festival. Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 6.14) has similar information in briefly offering an etymology: *Liberalia dicta quod per totum oppidum eo die sedent sacerdotes Liberi anus* (765) *hedera coronatae* (767) *cum libis* (725–36, 761–2) *et foculo* (734) *pro emptore sacrificantes*; this confirms that the old women have an official position within the cult, as Ovid implies at 763. In the third century BC the poet Naevius (who was according to Gellius 3.3.15 imprisoned for his abuse of prominent people) described the Liberalia as an occasion for free speech and dramatic contests (fr. 113 Ribbeck *libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus*, cited by Festus, p. 103 Lindsay) – a thing of the past now (785–6); and in his commentary on *Georgics* 2.383 Servius (like Festus) links it to the Athenian dramatic festivals held in honour of Dionysus, the Dionysia for Dionysus Eleuthereus ('from Eleutherae', but etymologically implying 'the Liberator': Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 104; Elderkin 1936). Of the inscribed calendars extant at this point, two offer merely *LIB(ER)*; two (together with Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.14, and Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.4.15) add a reference to the Agonia, a festival in various months of sacrifice to unspecified deities, discussed by O. at 1.317–456 (with a cross-reference at 5.721–2; cf. 3.727–32); the *Fasti Caeretani* add in smaller capitals *LIBERO LIB*, implying that *Libera* is celebrated too (Ovid has transferred her to the astronomical context at 459–516); the *Fasti Farnesini* *LIBERO IN CA[PITOLIO]*, which indicates a shrine on the Capitol, to which O. makes no allusion (and of which we know nothing further, though military inscriptions of Vespasian's era mention a statue of *Liber pater*: *CIL* XVI.10, 11, 13). Perhaps that should not surprise, given that Varro describes the festival as taking place all over the city. For the Aventine temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera see 512 n. Martial 1.70.9 mentions a shrine of Bacchus either on the Palatine, or where the route to it leaves the Via Sacra.

Four key intertexts for the passage are Propertius' hymn to the god, 3.17, especially 1–2, 21–6:

Nunc, o Bacche, tuis humiles aduoluimur aris:  
 da mihi pacato uela secunda, pater. ... [790]  
 dicam ego maternos Aetnaeo fulmine partus, [724, 715–18]  
 Indica Nysaeis arma fugata choris, [720, 769]  
 uesanumque noua nequiquam in uite Lycurgum, [722]  
 Pentheos et triplici funera grata gregi, [721]  
 curuaque Tyrrhenos delphinum corpora nautas [723]  
 in uada pampinea desiluisse rate.

plus Horace, *Carm.* 2.19; the Bacchus narratives in *Met.* 3–4 (including an indirect hymn at 4.11–32); and *Tristia* 5.3, which begins *Illa dies haec est*, almost as if it were part of the *Fasti*, and goes on to discuss Ovid's absence from the group of poets worshipping Bacchus. He describes the god's travels in Thrace and the East (21–4, including Ganges and Indus; cf. 719–20, 729), and in verses 35–42 he prays for assistance, wishing the god well if he obliges, with reference to Lycurgus (39; cf. 722) and Pentheus (40; cf. 721), to Ariadne's Crown (41–2; cf. 469–516). Given the date of publication for the *Fasti*, each passage can be read as recalling the other: this account of the Liberalia will stress that it is an occasion that brings a freer life for some participants (771–8), but the introductory couplets make repeated allusion to a poem on Ovid's exile, the removal of freedom and his absence from festivals in Rome. There is also some similarity to the unidentified rustic festival described by Tibullus in 2.1, which celebrates honey (49–50), Bacchus and Ceres as a pair (3–4, 45–8), and Bacchus as the god of drama (53–8), and to his hymn to Nile/Osiris/Bacchus at 1.7.23–48.

Miller 2002 is a well documented and insightful discussion, from which I draw many details.

**713–14 Tertia post Idus lux:** 17th March, counting inclusively. **celeberrima Baccho** 'thronged by celebrations for Bacchus'. At *Met.* 10.270  *festa dies Veneris tota celeberrima Cypro* the adjective implies the crowds that gather all over the island; but, though throngs are presumably to be imagined in Rome too, the individual *Baccho* cannot function like the collective *tota Cypro* (unless perhaps we give it the sense 'wine'). As helpful may be *Ep.* 20.221 *insula Coryciis quondam celeberrima nymphis*, where, as Kenney 1996 observes, Ovid seems to play between the senses 'thronged by' and 'famous for' (as at *Met.* 8.159 *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis*). **Bacche, faue uati:** the passage begins (and ends, at 789–90) with a request for favour: such prayers regularly accompany hymns. *uati* figures the poet as also a priest (168 n.); but there is no explicit theophany here (cf. 4.807, 6.484; contrast the contexts at 1.101, 3.177, 4.2, 6.8 *uel quia sum uates, uel quia sacra cano*).

**715–18** *nec referam* begins an extended *praeteritio*, listing the topics familiar from Bacchic hymns, but declining to use them, one by one, with typically varied phrasing (*nec; longum narrare; tacebere*). **Semelen:** *Met.* 3.259–315 tells the story familiar in outline from Euripides, *Bacchae*, of how Juno jealously tricks Semele the Theban princess impregnated by Jupiter into getting his promise to visit her in the full regalia of the thunder god. Though he moderates the strength of his weaponry (3.302–7), the mortal woman is still destroyed by the fire of the storm. The original text of the couplet is extremely difficult to discern: *paruus inermis eras/t* in the pentameter is clearly corrupt (A-W-C obelize it), but there are further problems. If the couplet is to be one sentence (as the continuation in 717 implies), the grammar should link the relative pronoun to the apodosis, not the *nisi* clause. If *nisi ... Iuppiter adferret* is correct, *fulmina secum* can hardly be right: Jove did take thunderbolts with him, and there is nothing plausibly pointed to say in the second half of the pentameter about what would have happened had he not done so (e.g. A-W-C suggest the feeble *a qua ... parturiendus eras*: ‘from whom you were going to be born unless Jupiter brought his thunderbolts with him’). What he takes with him in the *Metamorphoses* account are lighter *fulmina*, *tela secunda* as the gods call them (3.307). If he had not taken those, Bacchus himself would have died too: that would make a worthwhile gloss on the tale in the *Met.* Hence my *exempli gratia* conjecture: **quacum, nisi tela secunda | Iuppiter adferret, tu periturus eras**. Though O. rarely has hexameter endings like *tela secunda* (Holmes 1995), he has more in poetry published from exile, and *secunda* is stressed. (I imagine that *fulmina* originated as a gloss on *tela*, as in some MSS at 343, e.g., and *secum* as a subsequent correction of the metre.) **puer ... maturo tempore nasci** ‘be born a boy at the ripe time’: *OLD* *maturus* 3b; the adjective is applied to a variety of nouns to denote birth at full term, e.g. at 2.451–2 *Lucina, ... | maturumque utero molliter aufer onus*; 5.171 *hunc ... maturis nixibus Aethra | edidit*. **expletum patrio corpore matris opus**: the father saves the foetal Bacchus, sewing the baby into his thigh to complete his gestation. The couplet echoes some of the diction of *Am.* 3.3.40 *non pater in Baccho matris haberet opus*, and of *Met.* 3.310–12 *imperfectus adhuc infans geneticis ab aluo | eripitur patrioque tener (si credere dignum est) | insuitur femori maternaque tempora complet*.

**719–20** After not retelling the birth myth, Ovid moves on to the god’s great achievements, as reflected in earlier hymns – and passes over these too. In Mars’ month, he fittingly begins with Bacchus’ triumphs, but in line with his practice throughout the book (1–8, 173–6, 225–32, 373–98, 437–40, 795–808), military activity is mentioned only to be rejected. **Sithonas** ‘Thracian’, strictly referring to the inhabitants of

the middle of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice, on the north coast of the Aegean. Thrace is an area often mentioned as a place frequented by Maenads (Virg. *Geo.* 4.517–25; Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10–12 *Hebrum prospiciens et niue candidam | Thracen ac pede barbaro | lustratam Rhodopen*, recalled at 737–9); given *longum narrare*, *Sithonas* is best taken as an adjective with *triumphos*, parallel to **Scythicos**, which extends the geography north and east around the Black Sea.

**longum narrare**: for such phrasing in passing over a topic, cf. 4.95 *longum est numerare* (the gods created by Venus), *Met.* 1.214–15 *longa mora est ... enumerare* (the crimes of humanity uncovered by Jupiter), Nepos, *Hannibal* 5.4 *longum est omnia enumerare proelia*. O. points to the potential tedium of a military epic; for similar disdain from an elegist, cf. Prop. 3.1.7 *a ualeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis*. The programme rejected here was subsequently fulfilled in Greek by the fragmentary *Bassarica* of Dionysius (first century AD; Benaissa 2018) and the fourth/fifth-century poet Nonnus, with his 48-book epic *Dionysiaca* (which also includes lighter and erotic episodes, reminiscent of Ovid's Bacchic narratives). **triumphos** figures Liber as a Roman general, celebrating victories in the East: cf. 465–6, 729–32. **domitas gentes ... tuas** 'the taming of your peoples': 65 n. **turifer Inde**: *tus* ('frank-incense') came only from parts of the Arabian peninsula (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.51), but 'Indian' can signify any oriental people for the Augustan poets (*Ar.* 1.53, Virg. *Geo.* 2.172, *Aen.* 6.794, Prop. 3.4.1), and they have little interest in specificity about the origin of eastern spices. However, the reference to incense will be picked up in 731, where Liber offers *captiua tura* as part of the sacrifice celebrating his triumph over the East; in turn the Thebans of *Met.* 4.11 'give incense' in honour of the founder of the practice immediately before their hymn: *turaque dant Bacchumque uocant Bromiumque Lyaenumque*. (*Inde*, probably a collective singular, could alternatively refer to the river Indus.)

**721–2 tu quoque**: hymns regularly use anaphora of *tu* to focus attention on the deity; after *turifer Inde*, *tuas* O. here inverts the point by using the pronoun to refer to the god's victims and to what will not be sung (except in this *praeteritio* itself). **Thebanae mala praeda ... matris**: Pentheus, the 'wicked prey' of his mother Agave, was Bacchus' cousin and king of Thebes after the retirement of its founder Cadmus. Euripides' *Bacchae* depicts his persistent refusal to acknowledge the divine power of Dionysus and his eventual dismemberment at the hands of Theban Maenads, led by Agave. **tacebere**: some hymns promise to end silence about the god or his achievements; note in particular Horace, *Carm.* 1.12.21–2 *neque te silebo, Liber* (Nisbet & Hubbard have further references), Tib. 1.7.57 (after a kind of hymn to wine in 33–52), and *Tristia* 5.3.38 (to Bacchus, discussed p. 230) *attonito non taceare sono*. O. inverts this by removing

the negative as well as referring the verb to a pointedly unnamed victim.

**Lycurge:** a king of Thrace who opposed Bacchus; when he tried to cut down vines with his axe, a mad vision (*furiis*) made him attack, according to various versions, either his son or his own leg (*Ibis* 346, Hyginus, *Fab.* 132.2, Servius *ad Aen.* 3.14): hence **genus**, which can be the accusative either of *genus* ‘offspring’ or of *genu* ‘knee’ (a variant form used by O. in *Phaen.* fr. 1). Aeschylus wrote a tragedy (*Edonians*) and a satyr-play (*Lycurgus*) on the theme, the Roman tragedian Naevius a *Lycurgus*. Pentheus and Lycurgus are paired also at Prop. 3.17.23–4 (cited p. 230), Horace, *Carm.* 2.19.14–16, *Met.* 4.22–3 *Pentheia tu, uenerande, bipenniferumque Lycurgum* | *sacrilegos mactas*, *Trist.* 5.3.39–40.

**723–6 ecce libet:** after the negatives we reach at last the topic O. will dilate on – but not here: the tale of the Etruscan pirates belongs not in elegy, but at *Met.* 3.582–691 (and previously in another epic setting, the seventh Homeric Hymn). Miller 2002: 209, n. 43 suggests that the form of *libet* recalls *Liber* (*liba* too, we may note); it may hint at the poet’s freedom to choose his material.

**subitos pisces Tyrrenaque monstra** ‘the fish [i.e. dolphins] that suddenly appeared and the extraordinary metamorphosis of the Etruscans’: despite *-que* both phrases refer to the same event (‘hendiadys’). *subitus* is a regular marker of transformations in the *Met.* (e.g. 2.349, 535, 4.600, 5.560, 7.372, 11.341 *fecit auem et subitis pendentem sustulit alis*, 14.508).

**carminis huius opus:** the repetition in 725 emphatically conveys the correction: the material of the *Fasti* is not metamorphosis and *monstra*, but *causae* (cf. 1.1) and *sacra*, in this case the *liba* served on the Liberalia. After the epic and tragic topics of 715–24, the anticlimax is comic (and thus suits the playful god: cf. 759 *ridet et ipse deus*). On such repetitions, from the end of the pentameter to the start of the hexameter, see Platnauer 1951: 34–5.

**uitisator** ‘planter/creator of the vine’: the epithet is used of Saturn, bringer of agriculture to Latium at *Aeneid* 7.179, but seems to have been coined for a hymn to Bacchus by the second-century tragedian Accius, fr. 241–2 Ribbeck *o Dionyse, optime* | *Pater, uitisator, Semela genitus*.

**populos:** poetic plural (as at 181; 1.38, 207; 2.510, 546; 4.640), here used to avoid elision before *ad*. As at 783 the noun gives a sense of the demotic nature of the festival.

**liba** ‘honey cakes’ are a regular offering to the gods (within the *Fasti* also at 1.128 [Janus], 1.670 [Ceres and Tellus], 2.644 [Terminus], 4.776 [Pales], 6.476–534 [Matuta]; 733–4 n.), but especially associated with Bacchus: Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.14, Virgil, *Geo.* 2.394.

**727–32 Liber** is the originator of sacrifice: *liba* (726, 734–6), burnt offerings (727–8), including animals (732), expensive spices (731), and less explicitly wine (733; cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 284 οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγώς, ‘he, become a god, is poured in libations to gods’). He is thus

the creator of religion, if we see that as the formalized communication between man and god; without him there would be no *Fasti*. Discussion of sacrifice subtly evokes the Agonia, which according to the *Fasti Vaticani* and *Caeretani* also took place on this day; compare 1.317-456, where the origin of various sacrifices is explored to mark the first Agonia of the year. **ante tuos ortus** 'before your birth' (cf. 503); but the literal sense 'risings' is appropriate for the god who appears from the East (*Oriente*, 729). 4.395-400 similarly celebrate Ceres by describing human life before her provision of wheat. *tuos* resumes the hymnic 'Du-Stil', which then continues in *te* (729), *tu* (731). **sine honore** both 'not valued' and 'lacking in honours for the gods' (*OLD* 2b) – which is the function for which altars exist. Elision at this point in the line (4w) is rare, but Reeve 1973: 327 notes 1.111 and five other parallels in Ovidian elegiacs. **in gelidis herba reperta focus**: sacred hearths were not then used for sacrificial fires, and thus had grass growing in them. With characteristic humour O. carries through the implications of his phrasing *arae* ... *fuertunt*: if altars and hearths existed before sacrifice, what were they like? And the answer is: not unlike the turf altars mentioned e.g. at *Met.* 15.573-4 *uiridique e caespite factas ... herbosas ... aras*. **memorant**: this section is full of obvious references to earlier texts; ironically here and in the other 'Alexandrian footnote' at 770 (*ferunt*) there appears to be no precise model extant for the tale told. **Gange totoque Oriente subacto**: the Ganges, the great river of northern India, stands for the country, just as the Nile for Egypt (Prop. 2.1.31, 3.11.42, Virg. *Aen.* 8.711, Horace, *Carm.* 4.14.46) or the Rhine for Germany (1.286, *Tristia* 4.2.42, *Pont.* 3.4.88, Virg. *Aen.* 8.727). The victories of 465-6 and 719-20 are rephrased, and broadened. **primitias magno seposuisse Ioui**: Roman triumphs culminated in offerings made at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol. *primitiae* 'first-fruits' is equivalent to *libamina* (733): cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.8 *ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut uina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent*. The point is confirmed by *seposuisse* 'picked out and set aside' used for the selection of divine offerings (*OLD* 3). On sacrifice by a god see 805-8 n. **cinnama**: along with other spices and perfumes cinnamon was seen as coming from Arabia (Prop. 3.13.8, Seneca, *Oed.* 117) or other eastern lands (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.86 says Aethiopia). In Herodotus (3.111.1/97.2; cf. Pliny 12.85) it is associated with Dionysus' youth on Mount Nysa. **primus**: cf. the emphatic double *primus* at Tibullus 1.7.29, 31, in praising the Egyptian god Osiris as the originator of agriculture (viticulture and the Greco-Roman equivalent Bacchus follow in 33-42). **deque triumphato ... boue**: Liber is celebrated as the inventor of the triumph (among other things) at Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.191 <*uindemiare*> *instituit Liber pater; idem diadema, regium insigne, et triumphum inuenit*, 8.4 *India uicta triumphante Libero*

*patre*; Ovid uses the image already in foreseeing Cupid's triumph at *Amores* 1.2.47 *talis erat domita Bacchus Gangetide terra. triumphus* was derived from the Greek θρίαμβος 'hymn for Dionysus' by Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 6.68) and others. Here *de triumphato* perhaps extends the etymology to the synonymous *dithyrambus*; Fronto 141.8 van den Hout (*Liber dithyramborum cognitor*) saw the god as the inventor of the genre. The phrase thus subtly connects the Roman and Greek traditions about the god. Bulls are mentioned as the triumphal sacrifice by e.g. Virgil, *Geo.* 2.146–8, Horace, *Epod.* 9.21–2. **uiscera** 'the inner organs, offal' (those sacrificing would normally keep the best flesh for themselves): see Bömer on 1.672.

**733–6** After the god's role as instigator of sacrifice in general, O. turns to the etymology and aetiology of *liba* and *libamina* as offerings at the Liberalia. **nomine ab auctoris**: i.e. from *Liber*. The connexion is repeated later by Isidore (*Orig.* 6.19.32 *libare ... proprie fundere est, sump-tumque nomen ex Libero*), and by Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 104), though in reverse: 'is he called *Liber pater* as the father of freedom to those who are drinking ... or because he provided the means for libations (ὅτι τὴν λοιβὴν παρέσχεν)'. **libamina** 'samples poured or presented in honour of a deity', picking up on *primitias* (730). The word begins a new run of hymnic anaphora, *liba* following in 734, 735. **quod ... pars datur inde**: '*liba* are so called, because part of the *libamina* is dedicated on the *sanctis focis*: a (joking?) etymology: *liba* forms *part* of the word *libamina*, and that fits the actual sacrificial procedure' (Ineke Sluiter *per litteras*; for parallels see Sluiter 1990: 26–8). *datur* is equivalent to *libatur* (cf. 2.631–3 *date tura ... et libate dapēs*) and thus adds to the etymological play: cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.106, 7.44 *liba quod libandi causa fiunt* (echoed in 735). **deo fiunt** either 'are made for the god' (*OLD* 5a) or 'are given to the god' (*OLD* 8a). **sucis**: for Bacchus as the god of liquids, cf. Tiresias at Euripides, *Bacchae* 274–9 (where he and the 'liquid drink of the grape', βότρυος ὕγρὸν πῶμα, are matched with Demeter, the goddess who 'sustains mortals with dry food', ἐν ξηροῖσιν ἐκτρέφει βροτούς; see further Dodds *ad loc.*), and Augustine, *C.D.* 7.21 (a passage that apparently draws on Varro): *Liberi ... , quem liquidis seminibus ac per hoc non solum liquoribus fructuum, quorum quodam modo primatum uinum tenet, uerum etiam seminibus animalium praefecerunt*. **dulcibus**: the juices of fruit are sweet, wine too, unless it is fermented dry, but the primary purpose is to evoke honey, the main sweetener of the ancient world. **ille**: for unemphatic usage at line-end cf. 131; *Amores* 3.8.21 (whereas the alternative *idem* is either emphatic or adjectival in this position). **mella reperta**: Dionysus is associated with honey at e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 143, 711; and it is one of the topics of Horace's hymn, *Carm.* 2.19.11–12 *truncis lapsa | cauis iterare mella*. However, at *Amores* 3.8.40 *in quercu mella reperta caua* it is a discovery of the

reign of Saturn. Honey is the key feature of *liba* at Tibullus 1.7.54 *liba et Mopsopio dulcia melle feram* (where the offering is made to the Genius of Messalla, and follows the hymn to Nile/Osiris/Bacchus). Though honey is not part of Cato's recipe for *liba* (*Agr.* 75), which includes cheese, wheat flour, and an egg, honey is a major ingredient in many of the similar but more complicated recipes in the following chapters. In the modern world too the same word (e.g. 'bun', 'mincemeat') may be used for dishes that are variously sweet or savoury at different times and places.

**737–60** O. expands on the discovery of honey by Liber with a mythological action. After four couplets (737–44) the story of the first beehive is complete, but he then appends a slapstick scene involving Silenus as a comic equivalent of the god, finding hornets instead of bees and getting trampled by his own ass. However, this too closes not only with laughter (758–9), but also with a further invention: the use of mud by the beekeeper to protect his face (759–60).

**737–40 satyris comitatus:** such a chorus accompanying the main players of the story immediately evokes satyr plays. That this genre was familiar as a concept in Rome is shown by the paragraph in Horace's *Ars poetica* (220–50); that it was more than a concept is shown by Vitruvius 5.6.9, which describes the appropriate stage scenery: wild countryside, as opposed to the grandiose and domestic architecture suited to tragedy and comedy respectively; see also Wiseman 1988. Though his discussion of 'satyric' material from the *Fasti* (10–13; see 2008: 223–4) does not include this passage, he points out that inventions are a frequent theme of the genre, citing Seaford 1984: 36–7. Satyrs repeatedly feature in art of the early imperial period: see e.g. Bruhl 1953: 145–59, Neudecker 1988: 47–54. In describing an invention of the god, Ovid thus evokes another of his gifts to mankind, the form of drama in which he is most at home. It is possible to imagine the narrative either as a short play, or as a danced mime, particularly Silenus looking for honey at 746–58 (see Hall & Wyles 2008, esp. 1–40, 198–217). **harenoso ... ab Hebro:** O. is the first author to use *harenosus* of rivers: cf. 1.242 (of Tiber, *multa flauus harena* at Virg. *Aen.* 7.31), *Met.* 1.702. The Hebrus is the main river of Thrace (cf. 719–22).

**non habet ingratos fabula nostra iocos:** context suggests the sense 'our tale contains not unpleasing jokes' (implying that the reader will enjoy it), but the placing of *non* before *habet* gives the alternative 'our tale does not contain unpleasant jokes' (implying that the story will not offend the authorities). That sense matters because of the banning of the Bacchanalia by the Senate in 186 BC, and the abandonment (at an unknown date) of the traditional dramatic part of the festival (as revealed in 785–6): *fabula* is the standard Latin word for a play, as well as a story. Elsewhere in the *Fasti* satyrs and associated deities



participate in obscene narratives, often marked by the word *iocus*; see 1.396: the failed rape of Lotis by Priapus; 2.304 *traditur antiqui fabula plena ioci*: Faunus' attempted rape of Omphale; 6.320 *est multi fabula parua ioci*: the failed rape of Vesta by Priapus; cf. also 695, and the descriptions of Flora and the Floralia at 4.946 *scaena ioci morem liberioris habet*; 5.183, 331–2. But on the Liberalia, which O. will so strongly associate with *libertas* in 771–8, any smut is explicitly avoided (Wiseman 2008: 224). Moreover, *ioci* are one of the themes of his self-defence addressed to Augustus in *Tristia* 2 – his *Ars* is simply *ioci* (238), and many a Latin book contains *ioci* (*Romanus habet multa iocosa liber*!], 422: see Ingleheart *ad loc.*), including the *turpes ioci* of Sisenna (444). A very different sense of how Liber was celebrated comes from Augustine, *C.D.* 7.21 (paraphrasing Varro): 'the rites of Liber were celebrated at the crossroads in Italy with such unrestrained obscenity that male genitalia were worshipped in his honour, and not even in a rather modest secrecy, but openly amid wanton excitement: during the festival of Liber this obscene member was placed on carts and carried with great honour, first in the country round the crossroads, and then right into the city. Moreover in the town of Lavinium one whole month was devoted to Liber; during this time everyone used the most obscene language, until the member had been carried through the forum and brought to rest in its special place; and a respectable married woman had in public to place a garland on this unrespectable member.' **Rhodopen Pangaeaque** (alternatively *Pangaeus*) are mountains, also in Thrace, south and west of the Hebrus. **aeriferae comitum concrepuere manus**: like *florida* in the hexameter, reference to the bronze cymbals of the bacchants prepares for the appearance of the bees in the next couplet.

**741–4 nouae ... uolucres**: as 'new flying things' the bees have no name (but the vagueness looks ahead to the presence of hornets too: 753). The appearance of the bees follows neatly after the sacrifice of the bull in 732: 1.363–80 claims that bovine sacrifice was instituted by Aristaeus, to regain his bees: cf. Virgil, *Geo.* 4.315–558. What follows is a comic alternative to 'Bugonia'. **coeunt ... tinnitibus actae**: writers on agriculture and natural history describe bees as gathering in response to the jingling of brass: see e.g. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 627a15; Varro, *Rust.* 3.16.7, 30 *circumtinniendo aere*; Virg. *Geo.* 4.64 *tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum* (and Mynors *ad loc.*); Pliny 11.68. At *Georgics* 4.150–2 *canoros | Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae | Dictae caeli regem pauere sub antro* (echoed in 740, 742), the bees collect in response to the noise made by Jupiter's attendants; Virgil is imitating Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.46–54, where too nymphs protect the infant god, as they do in 769–70 here: the motifs are transferred from father to son. *actae* might be taken as 'agitated', but

is perhaps rather ‘brought’, ‘drawn’, with the direction clarified by the following line. **quosque mouent sonitus aera sequuntur apes:** the pentameter repeats the sense of the hexameter very precisely: the relative clause explains *tinnitibus*, *aera* echoes *aeriferae* (740), *apes* glosses *uolucres* and literally follows both *aera* and the sounds the cymbals cause. **col-ligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani:** Liber carries out the tasks of a beekeeper, first gathering together a swarm, and then providing a basic hive: Varro (*Rust.* 3.16.15) and Columella (9.6.1) both mention the use of hollow trees (and bark) among other possibilities. **Liber:** after the hollow tree the name perhaps puns on *liber* (‘bark’). **inuenti prae-mia mellis habet** marks completion of the action begun after *mella reperta* (736). In this mythical account, the hive immediately offers honey. The ‘rewards of discovering honey’ are the sweetness of the taste, shared with his followers (745), but also the continuing celebration of the discovery at the Liberalia. As often in O.’s aetiologies the present tense applies both to the time of the narrative and to the contemporary circumstances.

**745–52 lēuisque senex** ‘and the smooth (i.e. bald [*uertice nudo*, 753]) old man’, Silenus, a regular companion of Bacchus in poetry and art, often (as here) a comic version of the god; cf. 1.393–440 (esp. 399 *senior pando Silenus asello*, echoed in 749), 6.319–44 (the ass plays a major role in both Priapus stories); in *Ars* 1.541–8 in his drunkenness he first sits on the ass only with difficulty, then falls off; *Met.* 4.27 is similar (*pando non fortiter haeret asello*). **tetigere** ‘tasted’ (*OLD tango* 5c). **quaerebant** ‘they began to look for’, inceptive imperfect. **flāuos per nemus omne fāuos:** despite the difference in quantity a carefully patterned phrase, perhaps suggesting an etymological link between *flauus* and *fauus* (cf. *Med.* 82 *de flauis Attica mella fauis*). The widespread search explains why no one notices what Silenus is doing. **audit in exesa stridorem examinis ulmo | aspicit et ceras:** the verbs of hearing and seeing are prominently placed at the start of each line (joined by a postponed *et*); they give an empirical seriousness to Silenus’ discovery, while the buzzing noise and the hollow tree replicate 741–3, and everyone knows wax cells (*OLD* 2) are found with honey in a hive. But it all begins to go wrong when he greedily hides what (he thinks) he has found. Elms are regularly joined to vines in Latin poetry (411 n.), and so belong in this Bacchic landscape; but they are not a typical home of bees (Bömer). **piger** ‘lazy’, ‘sluggish’: the old man is set up for his fall. **pandi ... aselli** ‘the curve-backed ass’. The phrase is found only of the poor beast on which the weighty Silenus sits (so Peter). **ulmo corticibusque cauis** ‘to the hollow bark of the elm’ (hendiadys), dative instead of the alternative *ad* + acc. after *applicare* (*OLD* 3). Miller 2002: 215, n. 52 notes the important allusion to Virg. *Geo.* 2.387 *oraeque corticibus sumunt horrenda cauatis*, describing the masks

adopted by the Trojan immigrants in Italy for their performances in honour of Bacchus: in art Silenus was one of the most common mask types (cf. 760). **constitit ipse super** ‘he himself stood on top’ i.e. of the ass, a contrast with *residebat* (749): physical action at last, and comically difficult for the regularly drunken old man. **auide** confirms the gluttony implied by *dissimulat* (748): he deserves his comeuppance.

**753–8 milia crabronum coeunt**: *coeunt* echoing 741, but *milia* instead of *mella*, hornets instead of bees. Hornets are large wasps, with a more painful sting; their nests are constructed as combs, typically in hollow tree trunks. **oraque sima notant**: the image of Silenus is snub-nosed, and has laughably swollen features (*turgentia ora*, 757). The stinging of the hornets thus becomes an action for his appearance. **ille cadit praiceps et calce feritur aselli**: after the ascent, the fall; the ass on which he has stood now treads on him. **inclamat ... concurrunt ... rident**: the regular denouement of such narratives – someone cries out, the chorus quickly gathers round, there is general laughter (1.435–8, 2.351–6, 6.343–4); in a performance the audience laughs too. **percusso claudicat ille genu**: the ass’s hoof has struck his knee and he limps, adding to the physical humour of the scene. (See p. 26 for an allegorical reading.)

**759–62 ridet et ipse deus, limumque inducere monstrat**: the god of drama himself reappears on the scene, enjoying the performance; but he quickly resumes his role as inventor and teacher, though with a theatrical twist. The coating of mud protects the beekeeper from stings; but it also forms a rudimentary mask, especially when applied in 760 to Silenus, the comic mask-figure *par excellence* (note *ora* for ‘masks’ at Virg. *Geo.* 2.387, cited 750 n.). For Bacchus as teacher, cf. Horace, *Carm.* 2.19.1–4 *Bacchum ... | uidi docentem ... | nymphasque discentes et aures | capripedum satyrorum acutas*. **pater**: from the wisdom of the insightful teacher, O. moves on to a related role, Liber as ‘father’, a common description of gods (Lucilius 19–22 Marx lists seven so titled, including Liber), especially Liber himself (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.128, Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.19, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.5), and one that looks ahead to 771–6. **liboque infusa calenti | iure repertori splendida mella damus** marks the conclusion of the story with a return to 733–6 (*datur ... liba ... mella reperta*); *iure* makes explicit the aetiological fitness of the rite, and *infusa calenti* gives more information about the custom, as well as clarifying the link between honey and cake.

**763–70 cur**: after the expansive narrative, we get four questions in three couplets (see p. 32), each introduced by *cur*, in the first three instances accompanied by the key word in the question: why a woman (*femina* stressed by placement before the postponed interrogative)? why an *old* woman? why ivy? But there is variety too: only the third is a direct question,

while the first two are indirect, differently introduced. **praesit** 'presides'; for the role of the *anus*, see Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.14 (cited 713-90 n.). Some have preferred the well-attested variant *presset*, but there seems to be no parallel for the verb being used of the preparation of cakes (and the lack of an object is surprising). **non est rationis opertae** 'it is not [a matter] of hidden reasoning', characterizing genitive, a usage found with *rationis* mainly in technical writers, such as Quintilian, Servius, and legal texts. **femineos thyrsos concitat ille choros**: the initial adjective responds to the *femina* of the question; the line as a whole returns us to the world of the *Bacchae*, with *choros* once more emphasizing Bacchus' role as the god of drama. We can envision the thyrsus used as a goad or symbolizing maenadic excitement. **cur anus hoc faciat**: to accompany the drunken old man Silenus (745-60) we now have a drunken old woman: the Liberalia again continues the ritual behaviour of the festival of Anna Perenna (cf. 542). *hoc faciat* ('performs this function') varies and generalizes *praesit* (cf. e.g. 4.150 *hoc ... facit*, 4.942 *fiat*). **uiuosior aetas**: this characterization of old women goes back to the comic tradition in Greek literature (see Dover on Aristophanes, *Clouds* 555, Nisbet & Rudd on Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.16) and long continued (Musso 1968), e.g. in Plautus, *Cistellaria* 149 *haec, et multiloqua et multibiba, est anus*; *Curculio* 76-7 *anus hic solet cubitare custos ianitrix, / nomen Leaenae est, multibiba atque merobiba*, 110 *sitit haec anus*. Within the *Fasti*, cf. 2.579-82 (and Robinson on 582). The adjective 'more wine-loving' thus defines the age without the need for *haec*. **cratera et grauidae munera uitis amat** 'loves the mixing bowl and the produce of the laden vine': the symbol of the symposium is followed by a circumlocution for wine. *cratera* is Alton's conjecture for *haec erat* (1973: 146); *erat* is the wrong tense, and some manuscripts have *est* instead, but it is hard to see why that should have produced *erat* in the first place, whereas *haec* may have arisen from a gloss on *aetas*, and *cratera* et been reduced to *erat et*. **hedera**: the wild growth of ivy, and its similarity to the foliage of the vine, make it an obvious symbol of Bacchus and his followers (e.g. 6.483, *Met.* 3.664, 6.599, Arrian, *Alex.* 5.1.6; cf. 481-2). At *Am.* 3.9.61, *Trist.* 1.7.2 *deme meis hederas, Bacchica sarta, comis*, and *Prop.* 4.1.62 *mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua*, it is explicitly associated with poets; in Pliny it is used by Liber for the first garland (*Nat. Hist.* 16.9), and is said to have been worn in imitation by the triumphant army of Alexander returning from India (16.144). **hoc quoque cur ita sit, discere nulla mora est**: the sequence ends with comment on its repetitiveness (*hoc quoque*) and rapidity (*nulla mora*). *discere* casts O. explicitly as a didactic poet, and one who is thus doing appropriate honour to the educative deity of the Liberalia (759-60). **Nysiadas nymphas**: the god was born, and reared by nymphs, on the mythical Mount Nysa (*Hom. Hymn* 1.1-9; according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.74 and Arrian,

*Alex.* 5.1.6, Nysa was the name of his nurse). They formed his first group of singing and dancing companions, and thus contribute to the association of the god with the feminine. **quaerente nouerca:** Juno, always a potential danger to Jupiter's other women (e.g. Semele, 715–16; Callisto, 2.177–80, *Met.* 2.401–530; Io, *Met.* 1.601–746) and their children (most famously Hercules). Her role here is like that of Saturn in the tale of Jupiter's infancy (4.197–210); the nymphs play the protective role of the Naiad Amalthea, as described at 5.115–28 (n.b. *in siluis occuluisse*, 116), as well as the noise-making Corybantes and Curetes (4.207–10). **hanc frondem cunis opposuisse:** the ivy becomes pleasing to Bacchus because it saves him; but the picture created of the baby in his cot suggests an alternative – that he simply gets to like the shape of the leaves by which he is surrounded. **ferunt:** on the 'Alexandrian footnote', see the note on *memorant* (729).

**771–2 restat** marks the end of one section on the Liberalia, but continuation with another: cf. 4.783 (the Parilia) *expositus mos est; moris mihi restat origo*; 5.369. **toga libera:** the other ceremony typical of the day is a familial one (though with implications for the state), the granting of the *toga uirilis* to adolescents. Bömer cites evidence that other days were used for this purpose too, but Cicero, *Att.* 6.1.12 offers useful confirmation of Ovid's claim: with the encouragement of his brother (then abroad) he intends to give the *toga uirilis* to his nephew Quintus on the Liberalia. At 4.1.132 Propertius has Horus describe how after his father's death the young poet took on the toga of manhood: *matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga*; O. takes over the phrase as suiting the Liberalia, and thus prepares for the explanation in 777–8, as well as giving emphasis to the association of *libertas* and *Liber*. **Lucifero** 'day' here, rather than 'dawn': cf. 1.46, 2.568, 6.211; *Tristia* 4.10.11; Prop. 2.19.28. **candide:** evocative of the gleaming white of statues of gods, but also of the fresh-faced youth in 773 (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 457, λευκὴν δὲ χροιάν ... ἔχεις 'you have a white complexion'; Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.11, *candide Bassareu*, [Tib.] 3.6.1 *candide Liber*). In the context *candide* perhaps hints at the colour of the man's toga, and there may be a moral tone too: the 'candid' is open, and thus suited to the supposed free-speaking of the day.

**773–8** O. gives four explanations for holding the ceremony of the *toga libera* on the Liberalia. The first three depend on the nature or name of the god, the fourth (779–88) is social rather than religious, but entirely compatible with the others. **siue quod ... seu, quia ... siue, quod ...** 'either because you seem yourself always to be a boy and a youth ...; or else, because you are a father, fathers entrust their sons, assurances for the future, to your care and divine power; or, because you are Liber, through you the clothing of freedom is taken up too and the path of a

freer existence.’ The apparent similarity of varied phrasing gives a patterned effect; but in fact the similarity is misleading: the *quod*-clause in 773 answers the question raised in 771–2, *pueri* picking up *pueris*; whereas *quia* in 775 comes to be seen as dependent on *commendant* (776), *pater* corresponding logically to *patres*, as *Liber* matches *libera* and *liberioris* in 777–8, which has the same structure (causal clause followed by main clause). Verses 779–88 *an quia, cum* etc. add further complications. Changing structures and phrasing can be found in other lists of possible explanations, such as 231–4, 2.477–80, 4.171–8. **ipse puer semper iuuenisque**: one of the two common representations (n.b. **uideris**) of Bacchus makes him just such a youth, often with puppy fat rather than the sculpted musculature of an athlete: cf. Pentheus’ description at Euripides, *Bacch.* 453–9, especially οὐ πάλῃς ὕπο (‘as a result of not wrestling’, 455). O. describes him as *puer* also at *Ars* 1.189, *Met.* 3.607 *uirginea puerum ... forma*, 4.18 *tu puer aeternus* (immediately after *tibi enim inconsumpta iuuenta est*, 4.17); he leaves unspoken the Latin term for children, *liberi*. *semper* evokes the god’s immortal existence, but is slightly ironic, given the frequency of the other image, a mature and bearded figure, as evoked by **pater** in the next couplet (and see 761 n.). **media est aetas inter utrumque**: a nice definition of the liminal status of the god, which thus accurately reflects the transition Roman youths went through in moving from boyhood (hence *puer*) to manhood (hence *iuuenis*). **quia tu pater es, patres ...**: for such logic, cf. the play on *mater* in 251. Fathers, rather than giving complete freedom to their sons, find another father, whose caring nod (*curae numinibusque*) will replace their own. **sua pignora, natos**: the apposition is modelled on the words of Cornelia to her husband Paullus at Prop. 4.11.73 *nunc tibi commendo communia pignora, natos*, also imitated by O. at *Ep.* 12.192 *natos, pignora nostra, duos*, and *Met.* 3.134 *pignora cara, nepotes*. **quod es Liber, uestis quoque libera per te**: the repetition of the reasoning of the previous couplet leads from patriarchy to liberty. *uestis quoque libera* reprises *toga libera* in the initial query (771), and thus implies a preference for this explanation; the point is compounded when the symbolism of clothing is generalized into *uitae liberioris iter* in the pentameter. The association between the *Liberalia* and *libertas* is played on with bitter irony by Cicero at *Att.* 14.14.2, e.g. *nam Liberalibus quis potuit in senatum non uenire?* (written late April 44 BC, after the assassination of Julius Caesar: cf. 697–710).

**779–88 an quia, cum ...?**: O. returns to his initial structure, with a causal clause responding to the underlying question of 771–2, though this time itself phrased as a question (cf. 235–40), and developing across two and a half couplets before the parenthesis of 784–6 and the resumptive *ergo* of 787. **cum colerent prisci studiosius agros, | et faceret patrio rure**

**senator opus, | et caperet fasces a curuo consul aratro:** O. evokes the stories of Atilius Serranus (Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 50, *Sest.* 72), and esp. Cincinnatus: Cicero, *Fin.* 2.12 *maiores nostri ab aratro adduxerunt Cincinnatum illum ut dictator esset*, *Sen.* 56; Livy 3.26.8–9; Dion. Hal. 10.17.4–5; Val. Max. 4.4.7; Columella 1.pr.13 *Cincinnatus ... ab aratro uocatus ad dictaturam uenerit ac rursus fascibus depositis, ... ad eosdem iuuenos et quattuor iugerum auitum herediolum redierit*. Columella goes on to add Fabricius and Curius Dentatus as examples of military glory accompanied by work in the fields (*dupplici studio*); Horace, *Carm.* 1.12.41–4 has these two and Camillus prepared for war by *saeua paupertas et auitus apto cum lare fundus*. The farmer who tills his ancestral fields is a frequent image of what Italy once was or might be: Horace, *Epod.* 2.1–3 *Beatus ille qui ... paterna rura bobus exercet suis*, *Carm.* 1.1.11–12 *gaudentem patrios findere sarculo | agros*; Tib. 1.10.15–52. We may also think of Cato the Censor, who, as well as serving in war, *urbanas rusticisque res pariter callebat* (Livy 39.40.4). Janus gives an analogous picture of archaic Rome at 1.197–208 (esp. 204 *pascebatque suas ipse senator oues*, 207 *iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro*). Use of the republican terms *senator* and *consul* may appear loaded after the emphasis on *libertas* in 777–8. The idiomatic *caperet fasces* ‘took up office’ evokes the use of *fascis* for the countryman’s burden (Andrew Sillett\*). **nec crimen:** Propertius uses a similar expression in describing early Roman society, 4.1.6 *nec fuit opprobrio facta sine arte casa*; cf. also Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 50 *qui praeesse agro colendo flagitium putes* (leading into the mention of Atilius). Contrast the moral laws that were previously in operation, 113–14 *signa ... perdere crimen erat*; 1.208 *levis argenti lammina crimen erat*. **duras ... manus:** horny hands characterize those involved in manual labour, e.g. the smith-god Vulcan at *Ars* 2.568, laughed at by his wife Venus, or the wool-working woman of the Roman past (Juvenal 6.290); compare the instruction of Virgil to the bee-keeper at *Geo.* 4.114 *ipse labore manum duro terat*, and Priapus to the indulgent lover at Tib. 1.4.47–8 *nec te paeniteat duros subiisse labores, | aut opera insuetas atteruisse manus*. **ad ludos:** games associated with festivals may involve drama, as befits Liber, and occurred on the earlier days of the Cerealia, 12th–18th April (so 4.393 implies when set against 4.680, and similarly the inscribed calendars: le Bonniec 1958: 315–27; Juv. 14.263; Tac. *Hist.* 2.55.1), or chariot-racing (so e.g. the Cerealia proper, on 19th April: 4.679–80). **dis, non studiis ille dabatur honor:** it was religious veneration that brought the early Roman into the city on the Liberalia, not enthusiasm for shows (*OLD studium* 4) or factional politics (*OLD* 5) – after all their interest lay in their farms (779). There is an appropriate simplicity to *dis* in contrast to the trisyllabic *studiis* with its similar ending. **luce sua ludos ... habebat:** we do not know when games were abandoned on the Liberalia, though probably before 78 BC, when a coin series depicting dramatic festivals puts Ceres and Liber together

(Wiseman 1998: 184, n. 46). The *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC points to one period in which the worship of Bacchus was controversial, but Wiseman (43–8) suggests Livy's account (39.8–18) may be influenced by a play subsequently written for the Liberalia, distancing the intrusive Greek from the traditional Roman god. Briscoe (2008: 243) objects that this 'fails to account for the comic elements in the story', but why should history plays not have comic elements? **uuae commentor** 'the inventor of the grape'. Wine has been touched on only briefly, in 765–6, but Liber's most famous gift, which 'liberates' mankind (as implied also by a Greek equivalent *Lyaeus*, the 'Loosener'), is aptly brought in as the passage approaches its close. **taedifera ... dea**: Ceres, whose use of pine-trees as torches is described at 4.493–4. This is the only possible hint O. gives of the presence of torches at the Liberalia, as mentioned by Servius on *Aen.* 7.397, and a prominent feature of Dionysiac worship in the *Bacchae* (146, 307). The temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera necessarily associates the deities, but the festival was shared too: Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.36 *ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cura et caerimonia Cereri, Libero, Liberaeque faciundos*; Servius, *ad Geo.* 1.7 (*Liber et alma Ceres simul Liberum et Cererem posuit, quia et templa eis simul posita sunt et ludi simul eduntur* (as well as the coins mentioned above)). **ergo** marks the resumption of the argument after the parenthesis, as after digressions at 119, 1.311 (*OLD* 5a). **tironem celebrare frequentia posset** 'a crowd could throng round (*OLD* *celebro* 1c)/ honour (*OLD* 4) the new citizen'. The end of the section is marked by a double echo, in sound and sense, of *celeberrima* (713). **dandae non aliena togae** 'not inappropriate for presenting the toga'; similar in construction and ritual context is 6.225 *primaque pars huius [mensis, i.e. June] thalamis aliena reperta est*.

**789–90** The final couplet returns to the Propertian model imitated in 713–24 (3.17, quoted on 713–90); the Bacchic celebration in *Met.* 4 is brought to a close with a similar prayer: *placatus mitisque ... adsis* (31). O. seeks kindness, a lack of aggression, and a favourable wind for his poetic sails. As well as Prop. 3.17.2, O. here recalls the frequent use of the imagery of voyaging to express the progress of a didactic poem: cf. e.g. 1.4 *derige naus iter*, 2.3 *nunc primum uelis, elegi, maioribus itis*, 2.863–4 *uenimus in portum libro cum mense peracto*. | *nauiget hinc alia iam mihi linter aqua*, 4.18, 4.729–30; *Ars* 1.772, *Rem.* 811–12; Prop. 3.3.22–4; Wimmel 1960: 230–1. **cornua**: cf. 499. **uertas et des**: jussive subjunctives, slightly less demanding than the equivalent imperatives would be.

### 791–2 The *Argei*

Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7.44 cites lines of Ennius in which the religious innovations of Numa are listed, including *libaque fectores Argeos et tutulatos*



(‘sacrificial cakes, their creators, Argei, and priests with top-knots’, *Annales* 115 Skutsch; cf. Livy 1.21.5), and goes on to gloss each element, including *Argei ab Argis*; *Argei fiunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum* xxvii; *ea quotannis de ponte sublicio a sacerdotibus publice deici solent in Tiberim* (‘*Argei* comes from “Argos”. The *Argei* are made from rushes, 27 images of human beings; each year these are thrown down into the Tiber from the pons Sublicius by priests on behalf of the state’). At 5.45 Varro has already revealed that the 27 *Argeorum sacra* were distributed around the original four regions of the city: the images were presumably kept in these shrines until they were thrown into the river on 14th (5.603–22) or 15th May (the Ides, Dion. Hal. 1.38.2–4), or perhaps both (cf. 792, Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 32 περί τὴν πανσέληνον ‘around the time of the full moon’, i.e. the Ides). **itur ad Argeos**: the impersonal passive evokes the processions, and apparently reproduces formal language: at Gellius 10.15.30, his account of the rules governing the conduct of the Flaminica Dialis (cf. 397–8) notes that she does not comb her hair *cum it ad Argeos*. In the sense ‘one arrives at’ *itur* also comments on the progress of the poem through the month. **qui sint, sua pagina dicet**: this ‘page’ comes at 5.621–62, where Ovid explains the name of the ‘Argives’ as derived from companions of Hercules who decided to remain in Latium (so too Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.45), but who felt nostalgia for their native land and so left instructions that their remains be thrown into the Tiber, in order that they might be carried back to Argos; but the heirs preferred to use rush images. Ovid likes to use *suus* to refer not to the subject of the sentence, but to the focus of attention; in this case *sua* picks up on the subject of the indirect question; see Hallam on 1.310. **hac, si commemini, praeteritaque die** ‘on this day, if I remember correctly, and the previous one’. *commemini* is rare after Plautus and Terence, and used only here by Ovid; though it is preserved by the two oldest MSS (AU), the text is corrupted by most of the others (to *si quid* or *sicut memini*). The parenthesis draws attention to Ovid’s having failed to mention the ritual on the previous day.

### 793–808 The Kite

The story is a doublet of the narrative at Livy 1.45.3–7:

One of the Sabines seemed to have been given the chance of recovering power [i.e. from Rome] through a personal initiative. A cow of extraordinary size and appearance (*miranda magnitudine ac specie*) is said to have been born as the property of a Sabine landowner; for many years horns fastened up in the forecourt of the temple of Diana served as a reminder of this wonder. The creature was regarded as a prodigy, as was indeed the case, and prophets foretold

that power would reside in the state whose citizen sacrificed (*immolasset*) it to Diana. This prophecy had reached the priest of the temple of Diana. On the next day suitable for sacrifice the Sabine drove the cow to Rome, led it to the temple of Diana, and stood it before the altar. There the Roman priest, impressed by the famous size of the victim and remembering the oracle, addressed the Sabine as follows: ‘What are you about to do, my friend? Sacrifice to Diana while unclean? Why not bathe yourself in running water first? The Tiber flows at the bottom of the valley.’ Affected by religious scruple, and wanting to do everything properly, so that the outcome would match the omen, the visitor immediately went down to the Tiber. In the meantime the Roman sacrifices (*immolat*) the cow to Diana. This earned extraordinary gratitude from the king [Servius] and the community (*id mire gratum regi atque ciuitati fuit*).

Ovid’s version is of very similar scale and shape (though he puts the visible record of the event in 793–5, before the birth of the bull): attempt to regain power; birth and appearance of the animal; oracle; imminent sacrifice; intervention of the opposing group; gratitude. As the story is not otherwise extant about the Kite, and the very existence of the star is in doubt (see 793–4 n.), the simplest explanation may here be true – that O. has transferred it from Roman to celestial history. What the tale provides is entirely apt to the *Fasti*, and book 3 in particular: though it encompasses heaven and hell, and ascends to the heights of theomachy, it ends quickly, not with thunderbolts and arms (cf. 1–2, 231–2, 437–40) but through control of *sacra* (cf. Newlands 1995: 48; Murgatroyd 2005: 103–4).

**793–4 stella Lycaoniam uergit declinis ad Arcton | Miluus:** a puzzling sentence. *stella* could mean ‘constellation’ (cf. 5.112) as well as star; but there is no firm evidence for a heavenly body called the ‘Kite’ (i.e. the bird of prey, not the toy). Moreover, in describing it as inclining down towards the Great Bear, Ovid implies that it is circumpolar. As such stars do not set in the northern hemisphere, the Kite should not appear in an astral calendar, which gives the dates when risings and settings coincide with sunrise or sunset. (The story of Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon who becomes the Bear, is narrated at 2.153–92, but only because of her association with Arctophylax, the ‘Bear-Wain’, which does set; cf. 405.) It seems then that O. is marking the invention as a fantasy. The place that the kite has in calendars is as a migrant bird (Bergk 1884: 662–4); cf. the return of the swallow at 2.853 (Hannah 1997 tries to argue that both are stars, but the diction of rising and setting is strikingly absent from other calendars). Thus at Aristophanes, *Birds* 713 the kite’s appearance marks the coming

of spring (Dunbar *ad loc.* and on 499 notes that this is the Black Kite, *Milvus migrans*); and Pliny includes it in his calendar for March, with reference to Julius Caesar's commentary on his calendar (18.237): *in Attica miluum apparere seruat. Caesar et idus Mart. ferales sibi notauit scorpionis occasu*, xv kal. uero April. Italiae miluum ostendi ('[On 8th March] in Attica the kite is observed to make its appearance. Caesar marked the Ides of March – the date that was fatal for him – with the setting of the Scorpion, and noted that on 18th March the kite is pointed out in Italy'). *Miluius* is trisyllabic. The enjambment conveys the descent of the constellation and the 'stooping' of the bird. **haec** [scil. *Stella*] **illa nocte uidenda uenit** 'this [i.e. the star] comes into sight on that night'. The reference of *illa nocte* is not clear, given that the previous couplet has mentioned two days; if we take it to mean the 'former' (*OLD* 6), it picks up on *hac* rather than *praeterita*, and thus implies the later night of the two – Ovid's mischief continues. The gerundive *uidenda* has the force of a future participle passive (cf. e.g. 712 *uidendus*, 803 *adolenda*).

**795–800 quid dederit uolucris si uis cognoscere caelum:** for the placing of the governing clause inside a subordinate clause of indirect discourse, cf. 170, 183, 294, 513, 803–4, 4.755–6, *Ep.* 12.2, Virg. *Ecl.* 4.27; and more generally Kenney on *Ep.* 17.9–10. Context (793, 808) explains in what way the kite has a presence in heaven, but for a bird this is not unexpected: cf. Martial 9.54.10 *prope summa rapax miluus astra uolat*. **Saturnus regnis a Ioue pulsus erat:** this introduces a sequence very like 5.35–8 (likewise describing events after Saturn's expulsion from heaven):

Terra feros partus, immania monstra, Gigantas  
edidit ausuros in Iouis ire domum.  
mille manus illis dedit et pro cruribus angues.  
atque ait: in magnos arma mouete deos.

Saturn is usually a benign figure in Roman myth (symbol of the Golden Age, e.g. at 1.191–254; contrast his role as the Greek Cronus at 4.197–214), so it is not surprising that O. turns the focus to the Titans in general (797), the underworld (801–2), and the 'hundred-hander' Briareus (805). Even the bull is turned into a giant-like figure, with serpentine hind-parts in 800 (cf. 5.37, and the depiction of the Giants fighting the gods on the Pergamum Altar, dated to the second century BC). **con-citat iratus ualidos Titanas in arma:** the language becomes epic to match the grand subject: *Arma* is the first word of the *Aeneid*, Μῆνιν ('anger') the first of the *Iliad*. *Titanās* is Greek accusative plural. **quaeque fuit fatis debita temptat opem** 'and puts to the test the help that has previously been owed by the fates'. For *fatis debita* (which looks ahead to the oracle of 803–4), cf. *Met.* 13.54 *debita Troianis exercet spicula fatis* (where Philoctetes

‘trains the arrows owed to the fate of Troy’ on birds), Virg. *Aen.* 6.66–7, 7.120 *salve fatis mihi debita tellus*. **matre satus Terra, monstrum mirabile, taurus**: mention of the Earth evokes the earthborn giants, and the relationship between Uranus and Gaia in Greek myth (e.g. Hesiod, *Theog.* 133–60). *monstrum* reflects both the extraordinary form of the bull, and its ominous significance, and the whole line is made emphatic by the sonorous repetition of *m*, *t*, and *r*. For the enclosed apposition, see 37n.

**801–4 triplici ... trium**: O. likes to have repetitions of *tri-* and *ter-* in groups of three (e.g. 1.575–6 *trinodis* | *ter quater*; 4.419–20 *terra tribus* ... | *Trinacris*; 4.550–1 *Triptoleмум* ... | *ter* ... *tria*), and we can find the third here if we look back to *Terra* in 799. **triplici muro lucis incluserat atris**: this recalls the Titanomachy in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, which ends with the Titans imprisoned in the gloom of Tartarus behind a bronze wall and threefold night (726–30; he goes on to describe the Styx at length in 775–806). This is mediated through Virgil’s Tartarus, *triplici circumdata muro* (*Aen.* 6.549). The groves of the underworld are truly ‘black’: the unusual epithet plays with the traditional etymology of *lucus*, *a non lucendo* (Servius, *Aen.* 1.22; cf. Quint. 1.6.34). **flammis adolenda dedisset**: 376 n. **sors erat** (‘there was an oracle that’) governs the indirect statement that makes up the rest of the couplet (hence the subjunctive *dedisset*). Seeking an oracular response or consulting the Sibylline Books was the frequent Roman reaction to portentous events such as the birth of monstrous animals (cf. 2.711–13, Livy 1.56.4–6). **aeternos uincere posse deos** ‘he would have the power to conquer eternal gods’: a typically teasing oracular response, given that both sides in the conflict are divine immortals. O. echoes the famous response given to Pyrrhus, Ennius, *Ann.* 167 *aiō te, Aeacida, Romanos uincere posse*, which means either ‘Son of Aeacus, I say that you have the power to conquer the Romans’ or ‘the Romans have the power to conquer you’. On the use of *posse* in indirect speech with a future sense, see e.g. G&L §248.

**805–8 Briareus** aids Zeus at *Iliad* 1.401–6 (against the other Olympians) and Hesiod, *Theogony* 617–735 (against the Titans); but as a ‘hundred-hander’ he is easily put into the anti-Olympian camp: so already in the Titanomachia of Eumelus (fr. 3 West); cf. 5.35–8 (cited above), *Amores* 2.1.11–16, Virg. *Aen.* 10.565–8. Moreover, the *Theogony* describes him and his brothers as living in Tartarus (617–23, 734–5), so he has easy access to the carefully protected bull. **flammis exta daturus** reprises the diction of 803 *uisceŕa qui ... flammis dedisset*: it is not the killing of the bull that matters, but the placing in the fire. For the notion of sacrifice by gods, cf. 730, 1.530, 2.247, and the archaeological material collected by Patton 2009. **alitibus rapere imperat**: O. uses the verb more often with infinitive than with the *ut*-clause commoner in prose. **miluus**: the bird was

known for stealing from altars (Arist. *Birds* 892; Pausanias 5.14.1), and at *Met.* 2.716 Ovid begins his simile to describe the circling of Mercury in sight of the beautiful Herse with the line *ut uolucris uisus rapidissima miluus extis* ('like a kite, the fastest of birds when it has seen entrails').

### 809–48 The *Quinquatrus*

The *Quinquatrus*, the fifth day after the Ides (i.e. 19th March), was sacred to Minerva, who was celebrated as the goddess of arts and crafts, some of which Ovid lists in 817–34. The name (which is feminine plural, like *Kalendae*, *Nonae*, *Idus*) derived from the fact that, counting from the Ides, the day comes fifth (cf. the Nones, the ninth day before the Ides): Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.14 explains that in Tusculum they call the sixth day after the Ides the *sexatrus*, and the seventh the *septimatrus*; Gellius 2.21.7 concurs, explaining that *-atrus* is a suffix without meaning in itself. However, the whole holiday lasted five days (811–14, 849), and in stressing this Ovid prefers the obvious alternative etymology (810), explicitly rejected by Varro and Festus (p. 304.33–6 Lindsay), but found also in Porphyrio's commentary on Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.197: *a quinque diebus, qui dies ad ferias Mineruae pertinent, propterea quod festa sollemnitas eius deae per hoc spatium temporis celebratur*. The *Quinquatrus* proper occurs at the halfway point of the progression of the month from Ides to Tubilustria, which appears originally to have been the marker of the waning moon equivalent to the Nones in the first half of the month (Rüpke 2011: 26–34); it is thus no coincidence that the name works also for the extended festival, which continues as far as the Tubilustria (849–50). For the extension of the name for a single day to a longer festival, Festus compares the Saturnalia (discussed at length in Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.10).

Another oddity about the name is that another festival of Minerva had come to be called *Quinquatrus minusculae* ('Lesser'), even though it lasted a single day and happened actually on the Ides (of June). At 6.693–710, in answer to the poet's enquiry, the goddess explains that name is used simply because the flute-players, who celebrate on that day, perform another art of which she is the foundress; similarly Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 6.17.

Some of the *Fasti Praenestini* notes on the day survive: *artificum dies, [quod Mineruae] aedis in Auentino [e]o di[e] [e]st [dedicata. Sali] faciunt in Comitio saltu [adstantibus po]ntificibus et trib(unis) Celer(um)*. Charisius (*GLK* 1.81.22) mentions lustration of the *ancilia* on this day (cf. 387–96). O. will go on to discuss the small shrine of Minerva Capta (835–48), but says nothing directly here of the temple on the Aventine (for which at 6.728 he gives 19th June as the natal date, as in the *Fasti Esquilini* and *Amiternini*); the entry of the pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates Maiores* mentions only the goddess's name in March (likewise the partial fragment of the *Fasti Farnesiani*), but Festus also specifies the Aventine temple.

Presumably there were ceremonies at the Aventine temple on both dates, perhaps because the rededication after rebuilding under Augustus (*R.G.* 19.2) happened on 19th June. Nonius (335.20–1 Lindsay) cites a single line from an Atellan farce called *Quinquatrus* by Pomponius of Bononia (who wrote in the early part of the first century BC) *uenit nos rogatum quando nostrae essent Seplasiae* ('(s)he came to ask us when our Seplasiae was'): Seplasia was a street in Capua famous for supplying perfumes, so this perhaps implies a party (at which perfumes were commonly supplied by the host). Such a character is attributed to the extended holiday also by a letter of Augustus to Tiberius that Suetonius cites at *Aug.* 71.3 *Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorum calfecimus* ('we spent the Quinquatrus rather pleasantly; we played all day every day and kept the gaming board hot').

**809–14 una dies media est:** i.e. 18th March, intervening between the Liberalia and the Quinquatrus; cf. 4.864 *una tamen media est inter utramque dies*, marking the gap between the Parilia and the Vinalia: such separation of festivals is the norm in the Roman calendar. **Mineruae:** the Roman name of the goddess equated to the Greek 'Athena' (which is not normally used in Latin) or Pallas (815–17 n.). She was part of the 'Capitoline Triad' and occupied the right-hand *cella* of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (as well as having a share of the earlier Capitolium Vetus on the Quirinal: *DAR* 92), but by the mid third century BC she also had a major temple of her own on the Aventine (*DAR* 258), and the lesser shrines of Minerva Capta (835–46) and Medica (on the Esquiline: *DAR* 308). **nominaque a iunctis quinque diebus habent** 'and they [the *sacra*] have a name from the five days joined together': the poetic plural *nomina* provides a dactyl in the first foot, as O. prefers. For the phrasing cf. 4 *a te ... nomina mensis habet*, 150 *a numero nomina quisquis habet*. (See 809–48 n. for discussion of the etymology.) **sanguine prima [dies] uacat** 'the first [day] is free of blood': a contrast is immediately set up with gladiatorial games on the following days. **est illa nata Minerua die:** the natal date for the temple (implicitly perhaps the one on the Aventine – see above – but certainly Minerva Capta: 838) is treated as also the birth date of the goddess herself. Not fighting on the deity's birthday seems apt; but there is irony here, as Minerva was famously born fully armed from her father's head (841–2): cf. e.g. *bellica* in 814, *armiferae* in 681. However, as we have seen, the Salii did appear, who usually carry shields and swords (cf. 814) – but they dance and do not fight. **altera tresque:** again *dies* is to be supplied. This metrically convenient way of expressing 'the next four' neatly separates off 20th March, Ovid's own birthday, as he reveals in a closely related passage when talking about his brother's sharing the same birth-date at *Tristia* 4.10.11–14:

Lucifer amborum natalibus affuit idem:  
 una celebrata est per duo liba dies;  
 haec est armiferae festis de quinque Mineruae  
 quae fieri pugna prima cruenta solet.

See further Newlands 1995: 200–1, Hinds 2005: 205–6. **super strata ... harena:** the sand that was used to provide a level surface in the forum and other sites regularly symbolizes gladiatorial games: *Am.* 2.14.8 (a metaphorical reference), *Ars* 1.164 *sparsaque sollicito tristis harena foro*, *Tristia* 2.17 *uictus repetit gladiator harenam*, 282, *Pont.* 2.8.53, Propertius 4.8.76, *OLD* 3a. **dea (e)st:** *Fasti* 3 has nine instances of prodelision at the end of pentameter, where elision would not be permitted; cf. 281 n.

**815–20 Pallada ... Pallada ... Pallade:** in telling youthful worshippers to pray to the goddess, O. uses anaphora, a device regularly adopted in hymns, often with *tu*; for repeated names in religious contexts see e.g. *Rem.* 704–6 (Phoebus), *Virg. Geo.* 1.339–49 (Ceres), *Aen.* 3.437–8 (Juno), Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.6–7 (Zeus). On hymnic elements in the passage, see La Bua 2010. *Pallada* is the Greek accusative. Repeated use of the bellicose Greek name (7 n.) in a context that stresses peaceful crafts may be intended to subordinate her battle prowess to the artful Italian Minerva. The passage reverts to the programme of 5–8, but with Minerva as subject, not the now forgotten Mars. **nunc ... orate:** the adverb gives immediacy to the didactic imperative – as if the girls and boys are reading (or hearing) the poem for guidance on the day. It presumably takes us back to the day of Minerva's birth (812; cf. 838). **pueri teneraeque puellae:** *tenerae* ('youthful') can be taken with both nouns (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). The prayers turn out to be individual rather than collective, but O. plays with the tradition of a chorus of boys and girls for public ritual (e.g. Catullus 34.1–4, Horace, *Carm.* 1.21.1–2, 3.14.10, 4.6.31, *Carm. Saec.* 6). Having addressed boys and then girls, O. inverts the order and begins with feminine education in the working of wool (see *Ars* 3.311–80 for a broader notion of what *puellae* can usefully learn); this leads neatly on to other crafts dealing with textiles (821–2), and then through shoe-making and carpentry (823–6) to the more cerebral skills of medicine (827–8) and teaching (829–30), before reaching a climax with the arts, sculpture, painting – and poetry (831–4). The encapsulation of each craft shows the poet's depth of interest and in some cases surprising technical knowledge. **doctus:** this means not merely 'educated', but 'experienced', 'skilful', hence expert in a craft. As an adjective especially evocative of the skill and learning of poets (*Am.* 3.9.62 *docte Catulle*, *Ars* 3.411–12 *doctis Musis*, 3.551 *doctis poetis*), it also looks ahead to the end of the catalogue. **lanam mollire ... plenas exonere colos:** the process is described in order: wool is softened, then spun into yarn, and then (in

819–20) woven into cloth or garments on the loom. Such working of wool was the conventional activity of the Roman matron, as codified in the epitaphic *lanam fecit* (CLE 52.8), the descriptions of Lucretia at 2.741–3 and Livy 1.57.9 (*deditam lanae*), and Augustus' claim that he typically wore only clothing made by female members of his family (Suet. *Aug.* 73). Preparation for spinning involves washing, 'teasing' by hand, and 'carding' (passing between two paddles, *carmina*): all of these may soften the wool by removing dirt and tangles. Ovid refers to teasing in more detail in his account of Arachne's craft at *Met.* 6.19–23:

siue rudem primos lanam glomerabat in orbes,  
 seu digitis subigebat opus repetitaque longo  
 uellera mollibat nebulas aequantia tractu,  
 siue leui teretem uersabat pollice fusum,  
 seu pingebat acu: scires a Pallade doctam.

Cf. also his description of how Callisto does not match the matronal norm at *Met.* 2.411 *non erat huius opus lanam mollire trahendo*. In the pentameter *plenas exonerare colos* depicts the repeated emptying of the loaded distaff on to the spindle as the stint of wool is spun into thread ready for weaving (Wild 1970: 31–7; Catullus 64.311–19). **discent**: parallel to the futures *doctus erit* in 816, *faciet* and *erit* in 823–6, as *Pallade placata* matches *qui bene placarit Pallada* in 816, and the ablative absolutes in the later couplets. *discent* is a medieval conjecture for the transmitted forms *discant* and *discite iam*: the latter omits *et*, and leaves *mollire* in 817 awkwardly without a construction. Both seem to come from a wish to continue the jussive element in *orate*, and to ignore the way the ablative absolute *Pallade placata* picks up the future perfect in the syncopated *placarit* (= *placauerit*). **stantes radio percurrere telas**: *stantes telas* may refer here either to looms (typically large objects), or to the vertical warp threads held in place by weights. The *radius* was a narrow cylindrical object used to help place the horizontal weft, and to tidy the effect of the weave. Again the Arachne episode provides the best commentary (*Met.* 6.55–8):

tela iugo uincta est, stamen secernit harundo,  
 inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis,  
 quod digiti expediunt, atque inter stamina ductum  
 percusso pauunt insecti pectine dentes.

**rarum pectine denset opus**: when a certain amount of cloth had been woven, beginning from the top of the loom, it would be 'beaten up' with a comb to make it denser (Wild 1970: 65–7). *denset* presents Minerva as doing what she teaches (*erudit*) her worshipper to do.

**821–6 hanc cole ... hanc cole**: the quasi-hymnic repetition continues, as the catalogue expands into further areas in which the deity has



power. **qui maculas laesis de uestibus aufers**: an address to the fuller, who used human urine to cleanse wool and to launder dirty clothes: see Flohr 2013 (341–5 on fullers and the *quinquatus*). This humble but important trade is largely unmentioned in Augustan poetry, but prominent in comedy and mime – Laberius wrote mimes called *Fullo* and *Fullonica*, e.g. (Panayotakis 2010: 254–61). The gusto with which fullers enjoyed the festival is implied by Novius, *Atellanae* 95 Ribbeck *fullonem compressi quinquatrubus* ('I had sex with a fuller on the Quinquatrus'), and Pliny, *Nat.* 35.143 (listing the notable paintings of the second-rank artist Simus) *officinam fullonis quinquatrus celebrantem*; see further Frassinetti 1953: 40–7. **uelleribus quisquis aëna paras** 'whoever you are who prepare bronze vessels for fleeces', implying the dyer: cf. *Med.* 9 *uellera saepe eadem Tyrio medicantur aëno* (on the repeated dyeing with prized Tyrian purple to get a deep and consistent colour), *Rem.* 707 *Amyclaeis medicatum uellus aënis* ('Spartan' was a cheaper purple). **inuita ... Pallade**: the phrasing recalls Cicero's witticism at *Fam.* 12.25.1 *Quinquatribus frequenti senatu causam tuam egi, non inuita Minerva*; *etenim eo ipso die senatus decreuit ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur* (echoing the same phrase at 3.1.1); cf. also Cic. *Off.* 1.110, Horace, *Ars* 385; Otto 1890: 224–5. The couplets 823–6 are structured as a chiasmus, the two ablative absolutes *inuita* and *irata Pallade* accompanying assertions of inability first and last, enclosing the two concessive clauses, each comparing the craftsman to an Homeric icon. **uincula plantae**: in contexts that refer to feet *uinc(u)la* (literally 'bonds') is a standard poetic expression for sandals: 1.410 *impediunt teneros uincula nulla pedes*, 2.324, 5.432, Virg. *Aen.* 8.458 *circumdat uincula plantis*. **Tychio**: the leather-worker who made the famous seven-hide shield of Ajax (*Iliad* 7.220–3), later mentioned by Pliny the Elder as the inventor of the shoemaker's craft (7.196). There is humour in the comparison of the cobbler to the maker of heroic shields. **licet** ('though': *OLD* 4a) confirms the concessive force of the subjunctive *sit* in 824; in 825 at the start of its clause it reads more straightforwardly as a conjunction. **antiquo ... Epeo ... prior**: 'superior to ancient Epeus'. Epeus was the carpenter who constructed the Trojan Horse (*Odyssey* 8.493, 11.523; Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7.38, Virg. *Aen.* 2.264 *ipse doli fabricator Epeos*, and Austin *ad loc.*); in *Iliad* 23 (664–95) he wins the boxing contest, proving himself good with his hands in another way. The addition of *antiquo* makes the priority of the modern worker seem all the more improbable. **manibus collatus** 'when compared in his handiwork' (*OLD manus* 20). *manibus* leads onto *mancus*, which is derived from *manus*, and literally means 'maimed in the hand'.

**827–32 Phoebea morbos qui pellitis arte**: the postponement of *qui* to third position in the clause (cf. 518) throws weight on to the emphatic

adjective *Phoebea* (set in contrast to *deae*, which ends the sentence and the couplet). The point is that Apollo (and his son Aesculapius) are the gods who oversee medicine, but that as a craft it is something Minerva has an interest in too; and she therefore deserves a small offering from the takings (*munera de uestris pauca*). The link between the festival and doctors is apparent in the fragments of Varro's Menippean Satire *Quinquatrus*, in which a doctor apparently hosts a sceptical guest: see Cèbe 1996: 1806–24 (fr. 440 Bücheler begins *quid medico mihi est opus?* e.g.). **turba breui censu fraudata, magistri:** schoolteachers as a group are deprived of money because the extended *Quinquatrus* was a spring break for pupils: thus Horace (*Epist.* 2.2.197) encourages the reader to enjoy life *puer ut festis Quinquatribus*; it was still a school holiday in the fourth century, when Symmachus, *Epist.* 5.85.3 talks of *puerilium feriarum*. Heinsius' conjecture *breui* increases the sympathy – or the satire: teachers were notoriously poor in the ancient world (Juvenal 7.215–43, Suetonius, *Gramm.* 9.2–3). This assumes that schoolchildren paid a fee for each day, whereas other evidence has them paid each month (Hor. *Serm.* 1.6.75) or even once a year (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.7, four centuries later, reports that March had previously been the month in which the year was completed and teachers were paid their annual salary). Most editors have preferred *ferē* ('generally'; found in the mss AGM), though it removes the reference to the *Quinquatrus* as a holiday. Correction should probably start from the implausible *feri* (U, and the majority of medieval MSS), and *breui* is as persuasive as anything yet suggested. **discipulos attrahit illa nouos:** this gives a general role to Minerva in the attraction of pupils, but may also be connected to Macrobius' phrase *completus annus* (*Sat.* 1.12.7): if the *Quinquatrus* was the end, it was also the beginning of the school year – Minerva thus brings in new pupils. Tertullian, *de Idolatria* 10 says that the schoolmaster offers the first fee from a new pupil to Minerva. **quique moues caelum:** 'and you who ply the chisel'. A *caelum* was used for applying fine detail to work in wood, metal, or stone (the last of which is covered also by the pentameter); hence the verb *caelare* ('to engrave' or 'emboss'): see e.g. *Met.* 2.4–7 on the silver doors to the Palace of the Sun embossed by the craftsmanship of Vulcan (*Mulciber illic | aequora caelarat ... terrarumque orbem caelumque*), or Virg. *Ecl.* 3.36–9 on the beechwood cups, *caelatum opus*, carved by the 'divine' Alcimedon. Both those passages exploit the pun *caelum* = 'chisel' or 'sky' (cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.18), and this surely does too: moving the heavens is normally done by the heavens themselves or the creator who initially set them to revolve around the earth (cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.54; also *Diu.* 2.89 on the way the different parts of the zodiac 'move' and change the *caelum*), by a god changing the weather (Phaedrus, *App.* 16.15), or by an astronomer using a model like the Anticythera mechanism, to predict the movements of stars and

planets. In the background lies the comparison at Aratus, *Phaen.* 529 (= Cic. *Arat.* 33.302–4), likening the demiurge who created the Zodiac to a craftsman trained by Athena. Even the creator must not neglect the goddess.

**tabulamque coloribus uris:** in ‘encaustic’ painting, the colours were added to wax, which was heated before being applied to the panel: Pliny 35.49 *cerae tinguntur isdem his coloribus ad eas picturas quae inuruntur*, 122 *ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitauerit non constat*. O. re-applies the heating from the wax paints (cf. 4.275 *coloribus ustis*) to the panel itself.

**quique facis docta mollia saxa manu** ‘and you who skilfully make rock soft’: sculptors ‘soften’ the hardness of stone by giving it the appearance of flesh: compare the rocks thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha at *Met.* 1.400–2 *saxa ... ponere duritiam coepere ... mollisque mora mollitaque ducere formam* (which Ovid goes on to compare to unfinished statues in 405–6); Virg. *Aen.* 6.847–8.

**833–4 mille dea est operum:** the quasi-hymn has been concerned with the powers rather than the name of the goddess (that topic follows in 839–48), and this functions to include all the crafts not mentioned, just as *quocumque nomine* includes all the other names at Cat. 34.21–2 (cf. Horace’s play on the phrase at *Carm.* 3.21.5). At 10.114–17 Juvenal (apparently with Ovid’s passage in mind: 116 *quisquis ... colit ... Minervam* reworks 822) describes the schoolboy who worships Minerva and prays throughout the Quinquatrus holiday in his desire to match the eloquence of Demosthenes or Cicero. O. does not explicitly mention rhetoric as one of the arts patronized by Minerva; but he has alluded to Cicero (823–4), and teaching in schools would in its more advanced stages include rhetoric. But he does take this final opportunity to specify poetry. For Minerva as a deity of verse, cf. her presence with the Muses at *Met.* 5.254–6.2, Statius, *Silu.* 1.6.1–2, 5.3.91; and Festus 446.29–448.3 Lindsay on the reward given to the third-century poet (and actor) Livius Andronicus: ‘When during the Second Punic War Livius Andronicus had composed a song that was recited by maidens, because things began to go more successfully for Rome, he was officially given rights at the shrine of Minerva on the Aventine, and scribes and actors were permitted to meet there and to set up offerings’ (see further Feeney 2016: 225–9). **studiis adsit amica meis:** the third-person hymn ends with a third-person prayer, that the goddess should come, in a friendly fashion, to assist his work: the poet participates just as the other artists have been urged to do. Minerva will indeed turn up for the *Quinquatrus minores*, directly responding to a second-person prayer at 6.652–4; and she gives her protection to the boat that carries Ovid across the Aegean in *Tristia* 1.10.

**835–8 Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum:** the little shrine of Minerva Capta is introduced with unusually rich topographical details

(perhaps because of its obscurity): finds of inscriptions and a statue of the goddess have helped place it on the northern side of the Caelian in the valley now between the Colosseum and San Giovanni in Laterano (*LTUR* 3.255 [Coarelli]; *DAR* 294). A *Mineruium* on the Caelian *mons* is also mentioned by Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 5.47). The name of the hill is derived by Varro (5.46) and others from *Caeles Vibenna*, a leader who assisted Romulus in his struggle with the Sabines; but O. in placing *Caelius* with *ex alto* perhaps plays on the similarity to *caelum*: the shrine brings the heavenly goddess down to earth. The word order takes us smoothly down from the top of the hill to the level ground at the foot. **quae dea natali coepit habere suo**: Minerva's birthday was determined before the founding of this shrine: this probably implies that the founder decided to use the same natal date for Minerva Capta as already existed for the larger temple on the Aventine (812 n.). The next four couplets will be explicitly concerned with the derivation of *Capta* as the goddess's soubriquet; *natali coepit* makes a preliminary suggestion, that it comes from *coepta*: the little shrine is a birthday offering for the young goddess, now first begun (cf. Veiovis, 429–48).

**839–46** Miller 1992: 24–8 shows how these lines continue the hymnic celebration of Minerva: instead of a multiplicity of names the poet offers a multiplicity of *causae*; and, if 843–4 gives the truth, as Ovid's evidence suggests, a reason that 'would hardly have added to the dignity of the goddess' (27) is denied prominence, and made simply the third in a list of four. **in dubio causa est**: the multiplicity of possible answers makes O. express doubt over the real explanation, as about the name of June at 6.1 *Hic quoque mensis habet dubias in nomine causas*; compare his doubts over the *origo* of water and bonfire rituals on the Parilia at 4.784 and the reason why Servius' statue is hidden at 6.572. **capitale uocamus | ingenium sollers**: the first two explanations honour Minerva, in deriving *Capta* from *caput*, whether it signifies her own 'heady' intelligence (Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.54 uses the Greek equivalent κεφαλαίαν; at *Met.* 8.252 she is characterized as *quae fauet ingeniis*, when she aids the brilliant Perdix), or (in **de capitis ... paterni | uertice**) the symbolism of her sudden, fully-armed emergence from her father's head. **perdomitis ... captiua Faliscis**: Falerii was a city 50 km north of Rome, which surrendered to Camillus in the 390s. However, Livy's account at 5.26–7 says nothing about Minerva, so O. probably refers to the revolt of the Faliscans in 241 (Bakkum 2009: 34), after which the city was destroyed and the people moved to a new site (Falerii Novi). At 5.21.3–23.7 Livy describes the *euocatio* of Juno from Veii; this was a ritual by which the deity was promised a place in Rome in return for allowing her native city to be captured, summarized by Macrobius at *Sat.* 3.9.2: 'when they were besieging

an enemy city and confident that it could be captured, they used a special hymn to summon out (*euocarent*) the tutelary deities, because they either thought the city could not otherwise be captured or (even if it could) they regarded it as wrong to regard gods as captive (*captos*). This couplet makes Minerva Capta an exception to the rule. **ut in signo littera prisca docet** ‘as ancient writing on the statue reveals’. *prisca* is used to define the sources O. employs at 1.7 *sacra ... annalibus eruta priscis* (cf. 4.11): this sounds like good evidence, but old inscriptions are not necessarily authentic, legible, or correctly interpreted (see further Torelli 1984: 52–3, Ziolkowski 1992: 112–15). And in this case Ovid’s own text is not secure. For *signo* most of the older MSS read *ipsum*: though that is not easy to explain as a corruption, it offers nothing to the verse, whereas *signo* provides a home for writing that will otherwise remain mysteriously unspecified; and *ut in* is a conjecture for *et hoc* (Watt 1995: 105). Watt’s *ut* has the signal advantage that it allows the question to carry on to the end of the couplet (as in 841–2, 845–6); the conjunction is regularly confused with *et*, and its similarity to *in* in minuscule script explains the omission of that word and its replacement by *hoc*. **capitis quae pendere poenas | ex illo iubeat furta reperta loco** ‘which requires that thefts from that place when revealed pay a capital penalty’. Frazer compares Festus p.57.24–5 Lindsay *capitalis lucus, ubi, si quid uiolatum est, caput uiolatoris expiatur*. A and some other MSS have *recepta*, which makes sense too (‘the receipt of goods’); but the corruption is easy (cf. 3.728, 4.27), and it is hard to think that receiving stolen items was specified above the theft itself – and discovery is vital if punishment is to follow. *capitis* implies loss of a citizen’s rights (*OLD* 6) rather than life. The subjunctive is probably generic (‘such as requires’): O. distances himself from this cause, as if he has not seen the actual evidence, in contrast to the previous couplet.

**847–8 a quacumque trahis ratione uocabula:** O. allows for further explanations that might please the deity, just as the phrase *quocumque nomine* (833–4 n.) allows for further names. **Pallas:** as defender of Rome’s leaders, the goddess is fittingly addressed in her warlike Greek guise (7 n.). **pro ducibus nostris aegida ... habe** ‘hold the aegis in front of our leaders’. The *aegis* is Athena’s breastplate or shield, adorned with the head of Medusa. It thus wards off aggressors; but the phrasing is ambiguous: does the goddess stand protecting the leaders, with her back to them, like the front rank of an army? or does she face them, holding the aegis – and thus the Gorgon’s head – where they can see it?

#### 849–50 The *Tubilustria*

**summa dies e quinque:** although the rest of the line describes the eponymous event of the *Tubilustria* (23rd March), O. presents the day as

the climax of the five-day Quinquatrus (809–48 n.), which leads on to the continued honouring of Minerva in the pentameter. **tubas lustrare canoras:** *Fasti Praenestini* reports the day as a festival of Mars, and then explains the name: *hic dies appellatur ita quod in atrio Sutorio tubi lustrantur quibus in sacris utuntur* (a version of what Varro says at *Ling. Lat.* 6.14 *dies Tubilustrium appellatur quod eo die in atrio sutorio sacrorum tubae lustrantur*). The name *Tubilustria* is given also to the 23rd May, a day sacred to Vulcan, as is revealed by one of the inscribed calendars (*Fasti Venusini*) and 5.725–6 *proxima Vulcani lux est; Tubilustria dicunt: | lustrantur prae, quas facit ille, tubae*.

Rüpke 2011: 26–34 argues persuasively that the nundinal day in the second half of the lunar month originally had a religious function matching the Nones in the first half. As to the ceremony, we have explicit evidence from Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.28.2 that in addition to the more frequently attested clashing of bronze instruments or implements (see e.g. Maltby on Tibullus 1.8.22), trumpets, when available, were blown to aid the moon in resisting the magic involved in an eclipse: *igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere* (the subject is a group of mutinying soldiers); Juvenal 6.442 has a similar implication. The existence of a purification of sacred trumpets, as a repeated ceremony during the waning of the moon, strongly implies preparation for the moon's monthly disappearance, so that the horns can be blown to encourage her return; we may compare *Psalms* 81.3 'Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day'. It seems likely to be no coincidence that one of the months for which this is attested is March, the first month of the lunar year, and the one in which the festival of Luna falls – on the final day (883–4). **admonet:** for a time as subject of *admonere* and an infinitive following, cf. Virgil, *Geo.* 4.185–7 *easdem | Vesper ... decedere campis | admonuit*. **forti sacrificare deae:** the extended Quinquatrus is completed with further offerings to Minerva; *forti* reasserts her qualities as a warrior (5, 814) after the acknowledgement that she was once *captiua* (843). The *Fasti Praenestini* puts *Feriae* for Mars on the 23rd, the *Fasti Vaticani* on both the 19th and 24th, none of which O. mentions; whether or not these were related to the festival of Minerva it looks pointed that the book on Mars' month ignores them. However, the two eleventh-century MSS (UG) read *deo* here, though A, the oldest, and most of the others have *de(a)e*; corruption in either direction is easy (*forti* might seem the epithet for a male, as at 5.598 *fortem ... deum*; the context has been concerned with Minerva). Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 4.60 reports that on 23rd March took place 'purification of trumpets, movement of arms (i.e. the *ancilia*), honouring of Mars and Nerio' (τῇι πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίῳ καθαρμός σάλπιγγος καὶ κίνησις τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τιμαὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Νερίνης; he goes on to

gloss Nerio as Athena, on the basis that she is the goddess of courage, or Aphrodite). Most editors (but not Goold and Stok, e.g.) share the preference for *deae* as better fitting the programme of the book, in which Mars is disarmed (1–258), mocked (675–96), and replaced by Bacchus and Minerva.

### 851–76 The constellation Aries

In its passage round the zodiac the sun enters the sign of Aries (Columella 11.2.31 dates this to 17th March, but the morning rising to the 23rd); and O. takes the opportunity to tell the tale of Phrixus, Helle, and the sea-going ram, with a combination of allusive brevity and pictorial pathos. This is his fullest version of a myth to which he repeatedly alludes. The move on to Taurus will be noticed at 4.715–16 *de duce lanigeri pecoris qui prodidit Hellen | sol abit* (20th April).

**851–2 nunc ... here:** as at 792 there is play with the normally orderly progression of the poem through the calendar: on the Tubilustria (23rd March) one can look up to the sun and say ‘yesterday’, i.e. the coincidence of the rising of Aries and the Sun has already happened. **hic** i.e. *sol*. **Phrixcae uellera pressit ouis:** *uellera premere* recurs at 4.663 *premens pede uellera* (of Faunus treading on the fleeces of sheep sacrificed to him); however, without *pede* it is possible to think of the sun as sitting rather than standing on the Ram (cf. Phrixus and Helle in 868). For *premere* of the sun and signs of the zodiac, cf. *Met.* 9.286. The phrasing shows typical Ovidian variation of an earlier line, *Ep.* 6.104 *aurea Phrixcae terga reuellit ouis* (where *reuellit* ‘tore away’ plays on *uellus*). *ouis* is feminine in Latin, even of a ram.

**853–68** The background story of the Golden Ram is expected to be a familiar one to readers: we know e.g. of plays called *Athamas* by Aeschylus and Ennius, while Sophocles wrote two *Athamas* tragedies (fr. 1–10) and a *Phrixus* (fr. 721–3), Euripides wrote two *Phrixus* plays (fr. 818–38) and an *Ino* (fr. 398–423). Ovid’s account has elements of tragic structure too: the pluperfect *sustulerat* (854) describes (like a prologue) what had already happened before the drama starts; consultation of an oracle precipitates the tragic denouement (as in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Ion* e.g.); human sacrifice is imminent (as in both *Iphigenia* plays); brother and sister lament their fate (like Orestes and Electra in *Choephoroë*); and disaster is finally averted by the appearance of a *deus ex machina* (863–8).

**853–4 seminibus tostis:** O. writes with a brevity that assumes knowledge of the story as given in the fragmentary synopsis of Euripides, *Phrixus A* (*POxy* 2455; similar is Apollodorus 1.9.1): Ino is jealous of her step-children Phrixus and Helle, and plots to kill them by provoking a need

to consult the oracle; she gets the local women to promise to roast the seed corn so it will not germinate. **sceleratae ... nouercae**: Ino, here a wicked step-mother (Watson 1995: 247–51), is herself the figure for sympathy in the stories told at 6.485–562 to explain the identity of the goddess Mater Matuta (Murgatroyd 2005: 150–1 brings out connexions and contrasts). After Semele dies (cf. 715–16 n.), as her sister Ino takes care of Bacchus; in her continuing anger Juno drives Athamas, Ino's husband, mad, and he kills their son Learchus. After the funeral Ino snatches up her younger child, Melicertes, and leaps into the sea from a cliff; but the sea-nymphs protect her and convey her to Latium. Juno tries again to get revenge, and enrages the local Maenads by telling them Ino is spying on their rites. They are about to seize the baby Melicertes from her, but Hercules hears her cries and the Maenads run away. Carmentis, mother of Evander, then provides hospitality, and a prophecy that Ino's troubles are ended, and that she and her son will become sea-gods: Leucothea and Palaemon to the Greeks, Matuta and Portunus in Latin. A coda then explains why slave-girls are denied access to the goddess: a slave-girl sleeping with Athamas told him about the *semina tosta* (6.556). Finally O. encourages mothers not to pray to her for their own children: *utilior Baccho quam fuit illa suis* (6.562). The madness of Athamas and Ino has already been treated in *Metamorphoses* 4: Juno is angered by Ino's contentment and her pride in the godhead of her nursling Bacchus (4.416–31) and sends the Fury Tisiphone to madden both husband and wife (4.432–511); Athamas has a vision of Ino as a lioness with two cubs and kills Learchus, while Ino runs away with Melicertes in her arms and jumps from a cliff into the sea; on Venus' request to Neptune they become sea deities (4.512–42).

**855–62 mittitur ... qui ... reportet**: the phrasing evokes the nameless messenger of the tragic stage. **ad tripodas**: a synecdoche for Delphi (and other oracular shrines of Apollo): cf. *Ars* 3.789 *Phoebei tripodes*, Lucretius 1.739 *Pythia quae tripode a Phoebi lauroque profatur*, Virg. *Aen.* 3.360. **certa ... sorte** 'a certain oracle', i.e. without the usual ambiguity; cf. *Met.* 15.647 *certas ita dicere sortes*. Such oracles were sought from the inner, more dangerous part of the cave, according to Valerius Max. 1.8.10. **sterili terrae**: the god should know of course that it is not the ground that is sterile but the seed. **hic quoque corruptus cum semine** 'he [the messenger] too, corrupted like the seed'. Cf. the accusations made against, or answered by, Creon and Tiresias at Sophocles, *O.T.* 603–4, 380–9. **funera sorte peti** 'the deaths are sought by the oracle'. The repetition of *sorte* from 855 binds the two couplets together (p. 39). For other sources for the invented response, see Parke & Wormell 1956: 2.82. **usque recusantem ciues et tempus et Ino | compulerunt regem**: again O. conjures up a dramatic



scene: Athamas persistently rejects the supposed oracular instructions, while the chorus of citizens pleads the necessity of circumstances, until finally Ino joins in, and compels him to perform the human sacrifice. For the form of syllepsis that alternates between concrete and abstract, with the odd item in the middle of the three, see Kenney 2002: 47. For the prosody of *compulŕunt*, see 65 n. **uelati tempora uittis** ‘their temples veiled with sacrificial bands’. Like other verbs of dressing, *uelare* can be used in the passive (especially the past participle) with a ‘retained’ accusative equivalent to that accompanying the active voice (‘we cover our heads’: *OLD uelo* 3; G&L §338, n. 2, Woodcock 1959: §19). *uittae* are markers of sacrificial victims (e.g. *Met.* 7.429, 15.131; Virg. *Geo.* 3.487), and the line-ending *tempora uitt-* is a common one to describe priests (e.g. Anius at *Met.* 13.643), but also potential human victims (Sinon in his story at Virg. *Aen.* 2.133, Orestes and Pylades at *Pont.* 3.2.75, and Phrixus again in Valerius’ allusion to this line at *Arg.* 1.278 *redimitus tempora uittis*): the phrase helps suggest the awful ambivalence of their role. **stant simul ante aras iunctaque fata gemunt**: the scene is set as in a tragedy, and we can imagine the lyric lamentation of the pair. *simul* and *iuncta* stress their togetherness in facing death; the same words will be used in 871–4 to describe their equally tearful separation. The sequence *simul ante aras* makes a link with another human victim (as Barnaby Taylor\* has pointed out to me): Iphianassa, who at Lucretius 1.89 collapsed ‘as soon as she noticed her father [Agamemnon] standing sorrowing by the altars’ (*maestum simul ante aras adstare parentem | sensit*).

**863–6 ut forte pependerat aethere, mater**: the mother of Helle and Phrixus was called Nephele (cf. *Met.* 11.195 *Nepheleïdos Helles*). Though the name does not appear here, the text plays on it delightfully: it is the Greek for ‘cloud’ (cf. Columella 10.155 *nubigenae Phrxi*), so there is nowhere better for Nephele to be than hanging in the sky. In other stories Nephele is the cloud-formed, substitute Hera/Juno whom Ixion attempts to rape: this provides an unexpressed explanation for her divine powers (and a further reason for Juno’s hatred of Ino: 853–4 n.). O. exploits the equation of woman/goddess and cloud also in recommending to his female pupils first the blue of the clear sky (*Ars* 3.173–4), and then (175–6) a shade of grey *ecce tibi similis quae quondam Phrixon et Hellen | diceris Inois eripuisse dolis*, and again when Hero suspects that the storm-clouds above the Hellespont are due to the presence of Helle’s mother, come to mourn her daughter’s loss (*Ep.* 19.121–4). A fourth-century vase (*LIMC* ‘Nephele II’ 2 = ‘Phrixos et Helle’ 1) depicts her among the gods in an upper group, while below Athamas approaches Phrixos with a knife, as he stands by an altar preparing to mount the ram. For *pependerat*, see Platnauer 1951: 9 (on the quadrisyllable after 3w)

and 114 (on pluperfect where imperfect would be expected). **ferit attonita pectora nuda manu:** clouds were seen as the sources of thunder, usually because two clouds collide and split apart, but here because Nephele in her woe strikes her breast with ‘thunderstruck’ hand. For the application of the adjective to the hand rather than the person as a whole, cf. e.g. 306 *sopitas manus*; *Epicedion Drusi* 318 *attonita quid petis ora manu?* Especially relevant is *Ars* 1.538 *attonita tympana pulsa manu*, where the worship of Bacchus produces a thundering noise; cf. also *Trist.* 5.3.38 *attonito non taceare sono*. Murgatroyd 2005: 262 notes the similarity of *Tristia* 1.3.78 (on O.’s wife’s reaction to his imminent departure into exile): *feriunt maestae pectora nuda manus*. He takes the *Tristia* to be evoking Nephele, but the later publication of the *Fasti* rather makes the two women mirrors of each other. Unjustly punished and sent dangerously into exile on the Black Sea, Phrixus thus becomes a type of Ovid – and so does Helle. **draconigenam ... urbem:** Thebes. The city’s early history is narrated in *Met.* 3–4, from its foundation by Cadmus, who loses his followers to the attack of a monstrous serpent, but then produces a population for his new home by sowing its teeth (3.20–130): hence ‘dragon-born’. Pentheus uses the alternative *anguigenae* to incite the aggressive spirit of the Thebans at *Met.* 3.531, but whereas he goes on to call them *proles Mauortia*, because the snake was a beast or son of Mars (*Met.* 3.32 *Martius anguis*, Eur. *Phoen.* 657–8), Ovid omits that association from Mars’ book. **nimbus comitantibus:** Nephele is appropriately accompanied by storm-clouds, like Diana by her nymphs. As she leaps down to Thebes, we may imagine they transform from clouds to rain, another sense of *nimbi* (*OLD* 2). **natos eripit inde suos:** cf. 2.493–6, where Romulus is snatched up to heaven by his father Mars during a cloudburst.

**867–72 utque fugam capiant, aries ... traditur:** as a vehicle for escape over land and sea, a sheep does not seem an obvious choice. But this is a golden-fleeced, talking sheep, who will become a constellation, so the reader has good reason to suspend disbelief. A ram might provide an alternative sacrifice; and Nephele chooses a normally grey-white fluffy creature rather like herself: for comparisons of clouds to sheep, see Lucretius 6.504–5 *ueluti pendentia uellera lanæ | cum supera magnum mare uenti nubila portant*, Aratus 938–9, Plin. *Nat.* 18.356. **ille uehit per freta longa duos:** the last two words are freighted with ill omen: the pair, brother and sister, are not carried the full distance to Colchis, and *longa* particularly evokes the long strait that comes to be called the Hellespont: Ovid uses the phrase *longus Hellespontus* at 4.567, 6.341, *Met.* 13.407; cf. also 4.278, *Tristia* 1.10.15–16. **dicitur:** the story of Helle’s journey on the ram is frequently mentioned by Latin

poets (e.g. *Ep.* 18.137–44, 19.123–8, 161–4; *Ars* 3.335–6; Propertius 2.26.5–6). O. also has pictorial representations in mind here, such as the wall-paintings (*LIMC* ‘Phrixos et Helle’ 28, 29) in which (as in 871–2) Phrixos almost overbalances as he reaches out his arm to try and grasp her desperate hand; in vase-paintings and mosaics too he is regularly shown holding the ram’s horn with one hand or the other. A fourth-century crater from Paestum (*LIMC* ‘Nephele II’ 1 = ‘Phrixos et Helle’ 26) shows brother and sister on the ram while Nephele looks down, spreading her cloud-like mantle over them. **infirmā cornu**

**tenuisse sinistra:** contrast Europa at *Met.* 2.874 *dextra cornum tenet*: she crosses the ocean successfully on the bull, and gives her name to land, not sea.

**femina quae de se nomina fecit aquae:** cf. *Ep.* 19.164 *dedit uastis femina nomen aquis* (also on Helle), and the naming of Anna Perenna (653–4). For the phrasing, cf. 2.421 (on the she-wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus) *illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercis*, 4.284, 5.149, *Met.* 13.617, 14.614–16 *Tiberinus ... in Tusci demersus fluminis undis | nomina fecit aquae*, *Tristia* 1.1.90, *Ibis* 370 *qui noua Myrtoae nomina fecit aquae*. *quae* is a medieval reading, though apparently a conjecture (it appears in Munich Staatsbib. Lat. 8122); most MSS have *cum*, but the timing is pointlessly odd: she did not hold the horn at the point when she provided her name to the water. **simul:** 862 n.

**873–6 flebat ... nescius:** likewise Cadmus grieves for Ino and Melicertes at *Met.* 4.563–5 *nescit Agenorides natam paruumque nepotem | aequoris esse deos*; and at *Met.* 12.1–2 *Nescius adsumptis Priamus pater Aesacon alis | uiuere lugebat* Priam mourns his son Aesacos, who has been turned to a bird at the end of book 11.

**ut amissa gemini consorte pericli** ‘as if his partner in the twin danger had been lost’; for *ut* ‘as if’ with a participle, cf. 1.20 *ut Clario missa legenda deo*, *Pont.* 2.10.44 *ante tuos oculos, ut modo uisus, ero*, *OLD* 8a.

**caeruleo iunctam ... deo:** cf. Hyginus, *Astron.* 2.20.1 on the constellation Aries: *hic existimatur esse qui Phrixum transtulisse et Hellen dictus est per Hellespontum. ... sed Hellen decidisse in Hellespontum et a Neptuno compressam Paeona procreasse complures, nonnulli Edonum dixerunt*. **litori-**

**bus tactis:** in Apollonius’ account Phrixus sacrifices the ram as soon as they arrive on the shore of Colchis, following the advice of Hermes (*Arg.* 4.115–21), or of the ram itself (2.1146). **aries fit sidus; at ...**

**aurea lana:** a scholiastic explanation of how the ram is a constellation when the fleece has to hang in Colchis so that the Argonauts may find it there. **in Colchas ... domos** ‘its home in Colchis’ (poetic plural: *Colcham* would not scan); the choice of *domos* begins a dense sequence of

closural vocabulary (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 10.77; Newlands 2000: 181). The home of the fleece in Apollonius is the Grove of Mars (ἄλλος Ἄρης, *Arg.* 4.166); but Ovid once again elides the eponym of March.

## 877–8 The Equinox (26th)

**tres ubi Luciferos ueniens praemisit Eos** ‘when Dawn, as she approaches, has sent three Morning Stars on in advance’ (but the word order of the Latin puts the Morning Star before Dawn): a precise account, save that *tres* strictly means ‘thrice’ here, and whether Venus is appearing as Morning Star at this point in the calendar will vary from year to year. Prose writers put the Equinox an eighth of the way through the sun’s passage in Aries: Columella 9.14.1 (adding ‘around 25th March’), Pliny, *Nat.* 2.81, 18.221. **tempora nocturnis aequa diurna ferēs**: a commentary on the poem itself (n.b. *Tempora* as first word in 1.1): this is virtually the half-way point of the *Fasti* as ‘you’ (the reader) have it (Barchiesi 1997a: 74). After dawn in the hexameter, *nocturnis* and *diurna* set up an alternation of night and day, which continues with the coming of evening in 879 and morning in 880. Ovid reworks the line, and links the equinox to the sun’s move into Aries, at *Tristia* 3.12.3–4 *impositamque sibi qui non bene pertulit Hellen | tempora nocturnis aequa diurna facit*.

## 879–82 Janus, Concordia, Salus, and Pax (29th or 30th)

**pastor saturos ubi clausurit haedos**: the rapidly approaching end of the month and the book is hinted at in a very clausal clause (Newlands 1995: 210), recalling the markers that Virgil uses to end a number of the *Eclogues*, especially 3.111 *claudite iam riuos, pueri; sat prata biberunt*, where the streams of song are shut off along with the irrigation channels, and 10.77 (the final line of the book): *ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae*, where (as here) the satiety of the goats signifies the coming of evening, as also at *Fasti* 4.735 *pastor, oues saturas ad prima crepuscula lustra*, 5.497–8 *tempus erat quo ... pronus saturae lac bibit agnus ouis*. Cf. also 384; *Am.* 2.19.38 *prima claudere nocte forem*. For the postponement of *ubi*, cf. 399 (to sixth place in the clause). **canuerint herbae rore recente**: O. uses dew as a symbol of dawn also at 357, 403, 1.312, 4.166, 6.200. *recente* adds a sense of freshness to this couplet descriptive of springtime fertility (cf. *flore recente*, 4.346), and the repetitive *rore recente* reinforces the recurrence of daybreak; save at 4.346 O. otherwise uses the normal ablative form *recenti*, but always at line end (e.g. 141). The whole clause reworks Virg. *Geo.* 3.325–6 *gramina canent, | et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba*. **Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis | et Romana Salus ara que Pacis erit**: the historical and religious significance of this grouping is not entirely clear (Torelli 1982: 34–5; Miller 1991: 33). Cassius Dio 54.35.1–2 describes among the events of 11 BC the setting up of ‘images’ of *Salus publica* (Υγίεια δημόσια), *Concordia* (Ὁμόνοια), and *Pax* (Εἰρήνη): this is done at Augustus’ request instead of proposed further statues of himself. There is an altar, now standing beside the road opposite the Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium, which carries

the end of an inscription: CONC]ORD[IAE] AUG SACR. It is possible that the involvement of Janus is Ovid's addition: it creates a link with book 1 – as do *Concordia* (1.637–50) and the phrase *ara Pacis* (1.709–22) – and exploits the god's association with peace (1.277–88). Suet. *Aug.* 31.4 lists the *Salutis augurium* as one of the rituals revived by the *princeps*: as described by Dio 37.24.1–2, it was rarely performed because it required conditions of peace, and at 51.20.4 he connects it with the closing of the gates of Janus.

### 883–4 Luna (31st)

The book that has begun with *Bellice Mars* ends with a deity whose shrine is on the plebeian Aventine: a symbol of changeability and (given Propertius' assimilation of his Cynthia to the moon: O'Neil 1958) of elegiac love. The same natal date of the temple appears also in the fragments of two inscribed Fasti (*Praenestini*, 'LVNAE IN AVE[NTINO]', and *Caeretani*); Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.41 attributes to the sixth king, Servius Tullius, a temple of Luna (but perhaps Lucina: see Ziolkowski 1992: 99–100) that might be this one. The precise position, like that of most other Aventine temples, remains unclear. *DAR* 255 (following Ziolkowski) places it in a hypothetical group with the temples of Flora and of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, at the northern tip of the hill, just above the starting gates of the Circus Maximus; but this is based on the inconsequential evidence of Appian, *B.C.* 1.78 that both Ceres and Luna were hit by lightning in the same thunderstorm, and the story of a hurricane seizing the temple door, told by Livy at 40.2.2 *forem ex aede Lunae, quae in Auentino est, raptam tulit et in posticis parietibus* ('on the back wall') *Cereris templi adfixit*, which is the more dramatic if the temple of Luna stood higher up and further off (as would suit Ovid's *Auentino ... iugo*): so Coarelli 1988: 32. **Luna regit menses:** cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.69 *luna enim nascentium dux, quod menses huius* (which can be understood both as the menstrual cycle, *OLD* 4a, and the passing of the months). According to this formulation it is the natural phenomenon of the Moon that controls the months, not the Olympian deities, or even the Caesars (Boyle 2003: 238–9). It is presumably no accident that Rome celebrated the goddess at the end of the first month in the recurrent cycle, at the moment when (if the calendar is truly lunar) she will have disappeared. This would be a time for the blowing of the sacred trumpets purified at the Tubilustria (849–50), the noise amplified by the bronze *echea* removed from Corinth and dedicated in the temple by L. Mummius (Vitruvius 5.5.8). **huius quoque tempora mensis | finit:** the verb and both nouns are neatly clausal: cf. 1.724 *cumque suo finem mense libellus habet*, 2.863 *mense peracto*. The preceding generalization about Luna applies to this month too, and thus the book is aptly finished; however, we are not taken back to the start of the month (Mars is still elided), but again to *Tempora*, the first word of the poem.



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### ABBREVIATIONS

A-W-C	Teubner edition of Alton, Wormell & Courtney
<i>CIL</i> i <sup>2</sup>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, pars prior, editio altera</i> (Berlin, 1893)
<i>CLE</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina</i> 1.i: <i>Carmina Epigraphica</i> (Leipzig, 1930)
<i>DAR</i>	<a href="http://digitalaugustanrome.org/">http://digitalaugustanrome.org/</a> (accessed 3 August 2017; cf. Haselberger et al. 2002)
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–)
<i>FLP</i>	E. Courtney, <i>The Fragmentary Latin Poets</i> (Oxford, 1993)
<i>FRHist</i>	T. J. Cornell (ed.), <i>The Fragments of the Roman Historians</i> (3 vols; Oxford, 2013)
<i>FRP</i>	Hollis 2007 ( <i>Fragments of Roman Poetry</i> )
G&L	B. L. Gildersleeve & G. Lodge, <i>Latin Grammar</i> (1st ed. London, 1867; 3rd ed. reprinted London 2005)
<i>GLK</i>	<i>Grammatici Latini</i> (ed. H. Keil; 8 vols; Leipzig, 1857–80)
Housman, <i>CP</i>	<i>The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman</i> (3 vols, ed. J. Diggle & F. R. D. Goodyear; Cambridge, 1972)
K-S	R. Kühner & C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache: Satzlehre</i> (2 vols; 3rd ed. Leverkusen, 1955)
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zurich/Düsseldorf, 1981–99)
<i>LTUR</i>	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (6 vols, ed. E. M. Steinby; Rome, 1993–9)
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>SH</i>	H. Lloyd-Jones & P. J. Parsons, <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Berlin, 1983)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>

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